Communications Branch
The Canadian Indian
Ontario
Canada

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Ontario

©Published under the authority of the
Hon. John C. Munro, P.C., M.P.,
Minister of Indian Affairs and
Northern Development,
Ottawa, 1982
QS-5146-010-EE-A1
Catalogue No. R32-58/1982E
ISBN 0-662-12012-4

Cette publication peut aussi être
obtenue en français sous le titre:
Les Indiens du Canada
— Ontario

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An Outline

Archaeologists have divided Ontario prehistory into four periods which span 11 000 years: the *Palaeo-Indian Period* (9 000 B.C. to 5 000 B.C.); the *Archaic Period* (5 000 B.C. to 1 000 B.C.); the *Initial Woodland Period* (1 000 B.C. to 1 000 A.D.); and the *Terminal Woodland Period* (1 000 A.D. to the *Historic Period* which began with initial European contact). Evidence unearthed by these scientists at excavation sites provides many clues about prehistoric cultures which evolved in Ontario during each period.

The Clovis and Plano cultures existed during the Palaeo-Indian Period and followed similar lifestyles. During the Archaic Period two cultures dwelled in Ontario: the Laurentian Archaic, in Southern Ontario, and the Shield Archaic in Northern Ontario. The Meadowood, Point Peninsula, Saugeen, Princess Point and Laurel cultures inhabited Ontario throughout the Initial Woodland Period. It is the cultures of the Terminal Woodland Period, however, that are of particular interest to archaeologists and anthropologists. Well-preserved artifacts uncovered at sites of this latter period enable them to restructure prehistoric cultures, thereby determining the origin of Iroquoian and Algonkian peoples first encountered by French and English explorers at the outset of the Historic Period.

From 900 A.D. to 1 300 A.D. two contemporaneous culture groups occupied Southern Ontario. These were the Pickering and Glen Meyer cultures, so named after present-day villages where traces of prehistoric man were found. Antler chisels, bone awls, stone arrowheads, pottery vessels and clay smoking pipes were among the remnants discovered. Artifacts such as these, and other remains, indicate that both Pickering and Glen Meyer groups ascribed to cultural patterns reminiscent of historic Iroquoian tribes.

They practised corn agriculture, were sedentary and supplemented their land-oriented economy with seasonal fishing and hunting activities. Their palisaded villages were strategically located atop hills, giving them a distinct advantage over their adversaries. Within the confines of fortified villages families lived in longhouses, clustered together, with each lodge housing several families.

At about 1 300 A.D., just prior to the beginning of the historic period, allied bands of the Pickering culture advanced southwestward, routing the Glen Meyer people and eventually adopting part of their population. Cultural exchange between the Pickering people and their newly-adopted members gave rise to a single homogeneous nation with a modified culture pattern. This group remained stable in Southern Ontario until 1 400 A.D. when the historic Iroquoian tribes began to evolve. The remainder of the Glen Meyer people eluded their Pickering adversaries and fled to southeastern Michigan and Ohio.

While the southwestern expansion of the Pickering culture resulted in the emergence of independent Iroquoian tribes in Southern Ontario and adjacent New York state, their northeastern advancement brought about the origin of yet another Iroquoian people along the St. Lawrence River. Though similar to the Ontario Iroquois, the St. Lawrence Iroquois had different burial customs, decorated their pottery in a unique way and used bone more extensively when making tools. In 1503 Jacques Cartier visited one of their villages, Hochelaga; 68 years later Samuel de Champlain found this and other villages abandoned. Some time between 1535 and 1603 the St. Lawrence Iroquois had vanished. Archaeologists have suggested that opposing Ontario Iroquois subjugated them.

The Iroquoian tribes of Southern Ontario and the St. Lawrence River were offshoots of the Pickering-Glen Meyer group, and, as archaeological evidence testifies, emerged during the latter phase of the Terminal Woodland Period. These, however, were not the only indigenous people occupying Ontario at the time.

In Northern Ontario semi-nomadic hunting communities were widespread. Unlike their Iroquoian neighbours, they subsisted by stalking game and by fishing, devoting little time to horticulture. These communities were linguistically and culturally affiliated and are now known collectively as Algonkian people.

Traces of Algonkian occupation have been found in areas where an analysis of soil layers reveals more than 400 years of their culture history. These areas, or stratified sites, and the artifacts uncovered at them enable archaeologists to gage activity trends of individual bands. Often a weathered stone tool or a pottery fragment confirms that trade occurred between Algonkian and Iroquoian cultures or that intermarriage occurred between highly mobile Algonkian bands. In the instance of intermarriage, a women usually brought with her the decorative and stylistic ceramic tradition of her former band.

Indeed, pottery traditions make it possible for archaeologists to differentiate between various Algonkian communities in Northern Ontario. The Blackduck and Selkirk traditions in the west and north have provided a wealth of information. Copper implements, stone pipes, pots and bowls are indicators of who the people were and how they lived.

The influx of European explorers into North America during the 15th century marked the end of prehistory and the beginning of history. Adventurers, fortune-seekers and missionaries embarked on intercontinental voyages, anchored in unchartered harbours and encountered Iroquoian and Algonkian peoples. Fascinated by these different Indian cultures, they documented their lifestyle. From their writings and from oral traditions passed down by Indian elders from ancient to present-day generations, the story of Ontario's Native people is told.

The People

Like their prehistoric ancestors, Indian tribes that occupied Ontario during historic times adapted to their environment, taking advantage of the natural resources. Climate, terrain and wildlife peculiar to a certain region dictated the way in which a tribe or group of tribes lived and, in effect, the languages they spoke. While tribes inhabiting Southern and Southeastern Ontario relied mainly on agriculture as a means of subsistence, northern tribes led a precarious existence based on hunting and fishing. The former group has been designated as the Iroquoian people, the latter as the Algonkian people.

The Iroquoians

The Iroquoian people dwelled in the fertile region of the upper St. Lawrence River and the eastern Great Lakes. Hills, valleys and undulating plains flanked by mountains in the east, dotted with lakes and crisscrossed by rivers and streams were land features common to the region.

The domain of the Iroquoians was forested with pine, spruce, hemlock and cedar in the north; maple, birch, oak and other deciduous trees blanketed their land in the south. Strawberries, blueberries and huckleberries flourished in rich soil.

Wildlife was abundant throughout the eastern woodlands with bear, beaver, and deer among the animals found there. Aquatic fowl such as heron and geese made seasonal migrations, and trout, pike, sturgeon and numerous other species of fish were plentiful.

A temperate climate with moderate rainfall and a lengthy frost-free period assured the agricultural communities of a successful harvest most years. A 190-day growing season provided the Iroquoian farmer with ample time to plant and cultivate his crops. Farming techniques, crops grown and the extent to which hunting and fishing activities occurred varied from tribe to tribe.

The Iroquoian tribes of Ontario enjoyed similar cultural pursuits but were geographically separated. The northernmost tribal group was the Huron in southern Ontario, between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay. The Tobacco were immediate neighbours of the Huron, dwelling south and west of them. Further south, on the Niagara peninsula, lived the Neutral. Erie villages bordered the southern shoreline of Lake Erie, and east of this lake, extending from Lake Ontario to the upper St. Lawrence River, lay the territory of the Iroquois.

The Huron Confederacy

The name Huron is derived from the French "hure", meaning wild boar's head. Contrary to popular belief, the Huron were so called not because of the way they wore their hair, but because of their rugged appearance and rustic lifestyle. The term huron was not coined in the New World, as it had been used by Europeans to refer to roguish individuals.

The Huron called themselves Wendat, a name meaning "islanders" or "dwellers on a peninsula". The Wendat were a confederation of four main Iroquoian tribes, with the Attignawantan, (Bear People), being the most populous.

Together with the Attigneenongnahac (Cord People), the Arendarhonon (Rock People) and the Tohontaenrat (Deer People), they dominated Southern Ontario. The Ataronchronon, Wenrohronon and other small tribes allied themselves with the Wendat. In the late 17th century the term Wyandot (a corruption of Wendat) was often used by Europeans to refer to Huron-Tobacco tribal groups seeking refuge from their eastern foes, the Iroquois.

Early estimates place the Huron population at *20 000, distributed through 18 villages. Each village was palisaded by a virtually impenetrable wall of interwoven spikes and bark. Situated on hilltops, each village covered 10 to 15 hectares of land and contained as many as 25 dwellings. The dwellings, or longhouses, provided shelter for 1 500 villagers and were spaced in such a manner as to hinder the spread of fire. The hazard of fire was a continual preoccupation for the Huron.

*Some sources indicate that the Huron population may have been as much as 40 000.

Huron longhouses were erected by securing a number of poles side-by-side in the ground. These poles were bent into an arch and lashed to others anchored on the opposite side. When the framework was complete, panels of cedar bark were affixed in shingle fashion and the domain made water-resistant.

A series of hearths extended the length of the longhouse and were bordered on either side by family sleeping platforms. Corn was suspended from the rafters, and utensils, robes and weapons were strewn about each household cubicle. The Huron longhouse did not afford tenants much privacy and no doubt necessitated mutual tolerance and community sharing.

The sense of community found in each village radiated towards other Huron villages which were linked to it by a network of trails. These trails facilitated trade and enabled village members to visit for various social affairs conducted during the year. One explorer estimated there were 200 miles (320 km) of such trails interconnecting the 18 Huron villages.

The Huron were mainly a horticultural society, cultivating corn, beans, squash, tobacco and sunflowers in fields on the perimeter of each village. Because they did not use fertilizer when cultivating crops, the soil eventually became exhausted and could no longer sustain growth. Infertile soil and diminishing forest resources caused Huron communities to uproot and relocate every 10 to 15 years.

For the Huron farmer and other Iroquoian agricultural tribes the year was divided into four seasons, each of which had its complement of community activities. Spring was the time for planting crops, summer for cultivating and autumn for harvesting. The women attended to these chores. During the summer months, men travelled extensively, taking with them items with which to barter. Thus they became village ambassadors, meeting fellow tribesmen and reinforcing political affiliations. Moreover, intertribal trade with northern Algonkian tribes enabled them to obtain clothing, copper and coveted charms in return for agricultural produce.

Men participated in annual deer hunts during the autumn and fished for sturgeon, whitefish and trout just before winter set in. The advent of winter restricted subsistence activities and became a time for community meetings and festivals.

The marked division of labour between men and women was evident in other seasonal activities. Among the tasks performed by women were food preparation, tanning and sewing animal hides for garments, making clay cooking vessels, bark baskets and mats, and gathering wood for fuel. While women did these domestic chores, men ensured that palisades were kept in good repair, constructed canoes, fashioned weapons and utensils and, when the village relocated, cleared the land and built longhouses. The men governed tribal interests and were the protectors of their people.

In Huron society each family planted, cultivated and harvested their own crops. In dire times produce was shared. Sixty-five per cent of the Huron diet consisted of corn, and an average village of 1 500 people could consume several hundred tons of corn in a year. Women prepared a variety of meals for their families – corn soup, fermented corn and a stew made with corn, fish, meat and squash.

Huron costume consisted of colourfully decorated garments sewn from deerskin and embellished with paint and porcupine quills. Moccasins were worn by everyone. Men and women wore loincloths, with women dressing in skirts. Once winter came, people donned cloaks and leggings.

Both men and women devoted particular attention to hair style, grooming with oils to give their hair a brilliant lustre. They also dyed grease with natural pigments and applied the mixture to their bodies. The geometrical motifs which the Hurons painted on their bodies were said to be so detailed that, on occasion, European newcomers mistook them for ornate suits of clothing.

Festivals were an integral part of Huron life. The Huron made use of every opportunity to celebrate a joyful occasion or mourn a sad one. Singing, farewell, and thanksgiving feasts and feasts to cure the sick were held; tribal council meetings were also causes for festivities.

When a couple married, a wedding feast was held, after which the bride and groom took up residence at the longhouse of the bride's mother. There they joined other extended families who traced their descent through the maternal line of their society. They became members of the longhouse clan, one of eight such kinship groups named after various animals, and raised their children in the traditions of Huron culture.

Annual feasts were often the occasion for recreational activities. Gambling was common – the bowl game, played with five to eight coloured dice made from fruit stones, was a popular pastime. Lacrosse, another game, pitted community against community in contests that sometimes lasted days.

Perhaps the most ritualistic feast which Huron communities took part in was the Feast of the Dead. Unlike other feasts, this was held only every 10 years and usually involved a host of satellite villages. The purpose was to pay tribute to the dead. Known as "the kettle" by the Huron, the feast usually coincided with village relocation.

The Feast of the Dead lasted ten days, during which time the community dead were resurrected from individual graves and reinterred in a common ossuary. Eight of the ten days were spent in careful preparation of the corpses. They were stripped of their flesh which was later burned. The bones of the deceased were placed in decorated beaver-skin bags prior to the final burial ritual. Presents brought by family mourners were collected and redistributed by a village headman. Once this was done, the contents of the bone bags were emptied into a large pit which had been lined with beaver pelts. The bones were then mingled and the pit sealed. The Feast of the Dead was an act of reverence and also promoted good will amongst neighbouring communities.

Like other tribes, the Huron considered themselves to be part of the natural environment that surrounded them. They believed that all things possessed a soul. This soul, or "oki", was immortal and could influence the day-to-day affairs of human beings. The Huron attributed good luck in hunting, gambling and warfare to various oki and treasured certain objects with which they charmed these guardian spirits.

Huron elders were held in high regard, for they were most familiar with the traditions of their people. Village inhabitants often consulted them when seeking advice on social, religious and health matters. Certain elders were shamans and belonged to either the Ocata, a group which diagnosed illness and prescribed treatment, or the Aretsan, a group which freed unfortunates of spells cast upon them by witches. The Huron organized two curing societies to combat illness and mental imbalance. These were the Awataerohi, or "fire handlers", and the Atirenda, who treated ruptures.

Witchcraft, murder, theft and treason were the main crimes in Huron society, as each violated the integrity of individual tribal members and threatened the security of the Huron Confederacy. Whenever possible, a compromise was sought between the offender and victim. In this way, violence was averted and community stability secured.

Though the Huron gained a reputation for their inhumane practice of torturing prisoners and other undesirables, ironically, they strove to maintain peace with their own society, impressing upon their children norms which called for mutual respect, generosity, modesty and repression of hostility amongst their people. Prowess in intertribal warfare, however, won acclaim for an individual from tribe members.

In 1648 the Iroquoian tribes of the east waged war on the Huron and several villages were destroyed. Fearing further attacks, the Huron sought asylum with the Tobacco, Neutral and Erie tribes and with the French. In retaliation, the Iroquois Confederacy devastated these tribes and harassed the French, thus hindering settlement and expansion.

During the period that followed, casualties inflicted by the Iroquois, the Iroquois custom of adopting prisoners and converting them, and a wave of epidemics reduced the Huron to a shadow of their former strength. One group escaped to the United States, but the majority were absorbed by the Iroquois. Several hundred Huron became allies of the French and eventually obtained a reserve at Lorette, Quebec.

The Neutral Confederacy

Called "Nation Neutre", or Neutral Nation, by Champlain in 1616, this confederation of three Iroquoian tribes was so named because they strove to maintain amicable relations with both Huron and Iroquois. The constituent tribes of the confederacy were the Attiragenrega, Autouaronon and Niagagorega. The name which the Neutral called their confederacy is unknown. The Huron, however, knew them as Attiwandaronk, "the people who speak a slightly different language".

The Neutral occupied the west end of Lake Ontario, between Lower Grand River Valley and the Niagara River. Jesuit missionaries visiting in 1641 estimated their population at 12 000, distributed in some 40 villages.

Like the Huron farmers of the north, these southerly people cultivated corn, beans, squash, sunflowers and tobacco.

Because they lived in a forest belt which abounded with wildlife, they tended to rely more on hunting than agriculture for subsistence. Rev. Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a missionary who wintered with them in 1626, witnessed the innovative way in which they stalked deer. A synopsis of his account of the hunt states:

"The father declared that there were an incredible number of deer in the country, which they did not take one by one; but by making a triangular "drive", composed of two convergent hedges leading to a narrow opening, with a third hedge placed athwart the opening but admitting of egress at each end of the last one, they drove the game into this pen and slaughtered them with ease."

Rev. Daillon also noted with interest the tribe's peculiar habit of slaying every animal they encountered. The hunters thought that killing deer, elk, wildcats, bustards and other wildlife prevented them from warning other creatures, thus ensuring success in future hunts.

Rev. Daillon's memoirs describe Neutral longhouses as being "25 to 30 fathoms long and 6 to 8 fathoms wide", with a corridor running the length of the bark-covered shelter. Sleeping platforms bordered 12 family hearths built along the central passage.

Like the Huron, the Neutral relocated their villages every 10 to 15 years. When a suitable area was found, the men cleared the land and the women planted their crops. Girdling trees with primitive stone tools, the men then applied a clay mixture just above the roughly hewn circles. By using the fire-retardant clay, they were able to preserve most of the timber when the gouged bases were later set afire. Crops were planted amidst the charred stumps of felled trees. The tree stumps eventually decayed and were uprooted.

Trade was an important aspect of Neutral lifestyle. From their northern Algonkian neighbours they obtained prime animal pelts which they fashioned into clothing. They also bartered for porcupine quills, dyeing and weaving them into their clothing. In return, they provided the Algonkians with corn, tobacco, fishing tackle and prestigious wampum belts made from colourful dentalium shells.

Death was regarded with reverence and attended by extravagent ritual. Neutral burial customs, however, differed from those of the Huron. Where the Huron buried the corpse immediately after death, the Neutral delayed burial, keeping the body of the deceased in the family houshold for an indefinite period of time and later placing it on a scaffold.

Villagers blackened their faces and that of the deceased. They tatooed the corpse, adorning it with feathers and trinkets. The Neutral periodically removed the dead from the scaffolds and buried them in small ossuaries lined with clay and divided into compartments.

The death of a warrior or village dignitary merited special attention. A eulogy was delivered by the village leader, and the deceased was figuratively resurrected. An individual resembling the deceased was selected by council for this function. Incantations were uttered, imploring the spirit of the deceased to animate his surrogate. Attributes and accrued prestige, as well as the dead person's name, were transferred to his living counterpart.

The Neutral used crude clubs and bows and arrows for weapons. They and the nearby Tobacco Nation, however, preferred a peaceful existence, striving to avoid involvement in the recurring strife between the Huron and Iroquois. During the latter half of the 17th century, though, they were drawn into intertribal warfare and subdued by the Iroquois. Remnants of their confederacy were adopted by the conquering alliance.

The Tobacco Nation

The Tobacco Nation, like the Neutral, received their name from the French, who called them Nation du Petun because they cultivated and traded tobacco extensively. The word "petun" is Brazilian in origin. Sources reveal that when André Thevet introduced it into France, the term gained popular usage.

The people of the Tobacco Nation called themselves Tionontati, meaning "there the mountain stands". Known as the mountain people, the Tionontati dwelled east of Lake Huron, below the Niagara Escarpment. Today this area is called the Blue Mountain.

Prior to the westward onslaught of the Iroquois in 1649, the Tobacco people numbered aproximately 15 000. They lived in nine villages and pursued a lifestyle similar to that of other Iroquoians. Besides tobacco, they also grew corn, beans, sunflowers and hemp, from which they made thread for their fishnets.

Tobacco families were affiliated with either the Wolf Clan or Deer Clan of their tribe. There was a common bond between members of each clan. When they visited clan members living in distant villages, they were always welcomed.

The Tobacco experienced little contact with Europeans, as their mobility and trading activities were hampered by the Huron and Iroquois confederacies. The Huron blocked access to the Ottawa River and prevented the Tobacco from travelling east to the French settlements in Quebec. Another barrier to the east was the Iroquois Confederacy which controlled the Upper St. Lawrence River area.

The Huron monopolized all Tobacco trading activities, acting as middlemen and profiting from the barter of crops such as corn and tobacco. So strong was their hold that they hindered the progress of missionaries, scorning the outsiders and deeming them a threat to their control.

The Tobacco accepted their fate, preferring to avoid confrontation. In 1648 fugitives from the Huron sought refuge with them in an effort to evade the Iroquois. The newly-formed alliance, sometimes referred to as the Wyandot, failed to stem the tide of destruction.

The Iroquois Confederacy

The Iroquois Confederacy was comprised of five tribes, or nations, as they were called. These were, from east to west: the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca. A sixth tribe, the Tuscarora, was admitted into the confederacy in 1722.

The name Iroquois is derived from the Algonkian appellation Iriakhoiw, meaning "real adders". The French corrupted the Algonkian term to the more familiar Iroquois. The Iroquois Confederacy called themselves Ongwanosionni, meaning "we are of the extended lodge". Known also as the League of Five Nations (six after 1722), the people of the longhouse preserved their tribal fraternity from generation to generation.

The exact date of the origin of the League is not known. Some sources suggest that it may have been formed early in the 15th century to halt intertribal warfare then prevalent amongst eastern Iroquoian tribes. Seeking to establish permanent peace throughout Iroquoia, the land of the Iroquois, the prophet-spokesman Dekanawideh, together with Hayonhwatha (Hiawatha) and a woman, Jikosaseh, approached the feuding tribes.

Visiting each of the tribes, the three founders held long councils with them, the last being with the divided Seneca. The main obstacle to the formation of the league was Atotarho, chief of the Onondaga. It was Hayonhwatha who won his favour, thereby securing peace and making it possible for tribal leaders to meet and determine the constitution of the league.

To unite the tribes, Dekanawideh convened 50 leaders representing the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca at Onondaga (the capital of the league) in the first federal council. Before the assembly he proclaimed a code, known as Gayaneshagowa, or the Great Law:

"I am Dekanawideh, and with Five Nations Confederate Lords, I plant the Tree of the Great Peace. I plant it in your territory, Atotarho, and that of the Onondaga nation in the territory of you who are the fire-keepers. I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Roots have spread out from the Tree of the Great Peace, one to the north, one to the east, one to the south and one to the west. The name of these roots is the Great White Roots and their nature is peace and strength. If any man or any nation shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition to the Lords of the Confederacy, they may trace the roots to the Tree, and if their minds are clean, and they are obedient and promise to obey the wishes of the Confederate Council, they shall be welcome to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves . . . Thus shall the Great Peace be established and hostilities shall no longer be known between the five nations; but only the peace of a united people . . ."

In proclaiming the Great Law, Dekanawideh entreated the five nations to form a defensive and offensive league, a league of peace that would ensure its members of mutual welfare and safety. The philosphy of the League of nations has been described in these words:

"The fundamental principles of their confederation, persistently maintained for centuries by force of arms and by compacts with other peoples were based primarily on blood relationship, and they shaped and directed their foreign and internal polity in consonance with these principles. The underlying motive for the institution of the Iroquois League was to secure universal peace and welfare among men by recognition and enforcement of the forms of civil government through the direction and regulation of personal and public conduct and council degrees."

Paradoxically, the manner in which the League secured universal peace entailed violence and destruction. To perpetuate their own existence and expand their dominion, affiliates of the League waged war on other tribes. These they conquered, adopting captives and incorporating them into their body politic. In 1614 the Iroquois procured firearms from the Dutch. Three decades later, they brought about the demise of the Huron, Neutral and Tobacco tribes dwelling west of them.

With the exception of military campaigns, trading excursions and hunting expeditions, the Iroquoians of the east were a sedentary people. They cultivated a wide variety of corn, beans and squash, known to them as "our supporters, the three sisters". Their villages were palisaded and they lived in longhouses sheathed in elm bark.

Iroquois society was matriarchal. Kindred belonged to different clans, each of which traced its descent through the female line. Child-bearing women held a prominent place in tribal government, exercising their power to choose leaders or dismiss them, as they judged necessary. The matrons nominated candidates for leadership who, when they took office, performed various legislative, juridicial and executive functions of government. In this way, both men and women were active in governing the affairs of their people.

The Iroquois had a penchant for ceremonialism and created many curing societies. The False Face, Husk Face, Dark Dance and Death Feast societies were four such social groups. Women controlled the latter two and comprised half their membership.

The False Face Curing Society was perhaps the most famous. Carved wooden masks used in this curing rite were thought to possess spiritual forces and portrayed a hierarchy of mythical beings. Grimacing, wrinkled and contorted, each wooden mask was adorned with horse hair and, when donned by a society member, conferred upon him special curative powers.

The Iroquois and Huron had similar religious traditions, with mythology forming the framework for their respective world views. Each perceived the origin of the world in a slightly different way.

One version of the Iroquoian creation myth maintains that, in the beginning, there existed only an aquatic world inhabited by marine life and devoid of human beings. Above this great ocean was the Sky-World where gods resembling people lived. At the centre of the Sky-World grew a Great Tree which bore many types of fruit and was considered sacred. The roots of this tree were embedded in the floor of the Sky-World.

According to the legend, a woman dwelling in the Sky-World was soon to give birth and had a craving for bark from the roots of the sacred tree. Complying with her wish for this forbidden delicacy, her husband dug a hole near the base of the tree. As he did this, he pierced the floor of the sky world, revealing the emptiness below. Frightened by his discovery, he stood back. This aroused the curiosity of the wife and she leaned over and peered through the opening. Suddenly, she lost her footing and fell through the hole.

Bound for the ocean, she was intercepted by a flock of birds which buffered her fall and placed her atop the back of a giant sea turtle. Bewildered, she wondered how she would survive her predicament. The gods of the Sky-World did not come to her rescue. All she had from her former domain was a piece of sacred root clenched in her hand.

It occurred to her that if she could somehow plant this root, she would not perish. She bid the sea creatures to fetch her a clod of earth from the ocean bottom. They tried, but only the muskrat succeeded. The woman placed the clod of earth on the turtle's back and as she traced a path in the soil, in the direction of the sun, it grew. She then planted the root from which the plants of the earth sprang. Thus emerged what the Iroquoians called "the world on the turtle's back". The sequence of events which unfolded culminated in the creation of wildlife that inhabited this world together with the progeny of the woman from the Sky-World.

Inclined towards superstition, the Iroquois payed homage to supernatural forces they believed ruled nature. During the year, this agricultural people observed calendric rituals linked with planting, cultivating and harvesting of their crops. The Midwinter, Seed Planting, Green Corn and Harvest festivals were held in honour of the gods. At these festivals the Iroquois invoked various deities, seeking their blessing when planting and offering them thanksgiving when harvesting.

Iroquois Calendar

Each stage of the agricultural year was marked by one or more ceremonies.

1. *December/January* BIG DOLL *January/February* LATE FALLING LEAVES	MIDWINTER FESTIVAL (1 week)	• fires renewed/"stirring ashes" ritual • individual dream interpretation/curing rites • four sacred rites a) great feather dance b) skin dance c) men's personal chant d) bowl game During this festival, tabacco was burned and the creator was invoked for success during the agricultural year
2. *February/March* FROGS PEEPING	MAPLE CEREMONY	• celebration of running of sap • celebration of prayers answered (thanksgiving)
3. *March/April* MANY FROGS PEEPING	SUN & MOON CEREMONY	• celebration of Sun and Moon influence over new growth
4. *April/May* PREPARE CORN HILLS	SEED PLANTING	• celebration of new planting season • women sing songs • bowl game played • planting instruction given • thanksgiving dance imploring spirits of three sisters – corn, beans and squash
5. *May/June* BERRIES RIPENING	THUNDER CEREMONY	• people gather on one day to beseech Thunderers for rain • tobacco is burned • war dance is performed

6. *June/July* MORE BERRIES RIPENING	STRAWBERRY FESTIVAL	• people perform 2 feather dances • people drink strawberry juice
7. *July/August* BEANS RIPENING	BEAN FESTIVAL	• great feather dance dedicated to food plants
8. *August/September* MANY THINGS RIPENING	GREEN CORN FESTIVAL	• general thanksgiving to food spirits • 4 sacred rites performed
9. *September/October* ALMOST MATURE	HARVEST FESTIVAL	• marks end of agricultural seasons • men instructed to disperse for fall hunt
10. *November/December* COLD		• hunting; fishing

Population Profile

The Iroquois Confederacy was comprised of five tribes (six after 1722). The Mohawk were the most aggressive. Their name was derived from the Narraganset appellation Mohowauuck, meaning "they eat things" and commonly interpreted as "man eaters". The Seneca were the most numerous of the eastern Iroquoian tribes. Sennekens, from which the name Seneca is derived, is the Mohegan (Mohican) rendering of the Iroquois local name for "it is a standing or projecting stone".

While the Seneca campaigned against the Huron, Neutral and Tobacco and vanquished them, the Mohawk warred with the Algonkin, Montagnais and other northern tribes. The Onondaga ("on top of the hill"), Oneida ("standing rock") and Cayuga ("the place where the locusts were taken out") allied their forces with those of the Mohawk and Seneca and together these tribes formed the original League of Five Nations. A sixth tribe, the Tuscarora ("hemp gatherers"), was admitted into the League in 1722.

The six tribes of the Federal Council convened throughout the year to receive and appoint ambassadors, to plan strategy for various campaigns to be launched against their foes and to discuss important issues of concern to them. During Council meetings each tribe assumed its respective position in one of three phratries, or brotherhoods. The Mohawk and Seneca formed one phratry, the Oneida, Cayuga and Tuscarora a second and the Onondaga a third.

Southeastern Iroquoian Population

	1650	1750	1850	1950
Mohawk	2 500	600	1 200	7 500
Oneida	500	500	2 000	3 400
Onondaga	1 500	1 100	900	875
Cayuga	1 500	1 200	1 100	1 200
Seneca	5 000	5 000	3 000	3 200
Tuscarora	5 000	2 000	900	800

Southern Iroquoian Population

	1600	1650
Huron	*20 000	500
Neutral	20 000	12 000
Tobacco	15 000	500

*Some sources indicate that the Huron population may have been as much as 40 000.

Council protocol required the Mohawk and Seneca to initiate discussion on an issue, presenting their opinions and conclusions to the Oneida, Cayuga and Tuscarora. The second phratry deliberated over ideas presented by the first, with the third phratry, the Onondaga, reserving the right to pass judgement on the decisions put forth by the other phratries. The ruling of the Onondaga became the decree of Council.

The population figures indicated here are based on estimates recorded in the Handbook of Indians of Canada. These estimates represent combined Canada and United States populations. During the 17th century intertribal warfare and epidemics had a devastating effect on tribes such as the Huron, Neutral and Tobacco.

In 1979 the Iroquoian population of Canada was 25 926. While Ontario had 18 663 Iroquoian residents, Quebec had 7 263. The Ontario population was grouped into five bands: the Gibson; Iroquois of St. Regis; Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, Oneidas of the Thames; and Six Nations of the Grand River Band.

The Algonkians

Algonkian people occupied Canada's eastern and central woodlands north of the Great Lakes. Their territory spanned present-day Ontario, Manitoba, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. Comprised of 15 tribes and sub-tribes, they were the most populous and widespread of indigenous language families.

Three Algonkian tribal groups lived in historic Ontario. The Ojibwa inhabited the northern shores of lakes Huron and Superior, from Georgian Bay in the east to the prairies. Their territory merged with that of the Woodland Cree, south of Hudson Bay. Scattered bands of Algonkin people were situated between the Ojibwa and the Montagnais, a northeastern Algonkian tribe bordering Ontario.

The habitat of the Algonkians differed from that of their southern neighbours, the Iroquoians. Lakes, streams and meandering rivers melded with marshland and muskeg. Spruce, pine and ash trees grew in the Boreal forest that covered rolling and rugged terrain. Jutting hummocks, rising eskers and rocky ridges cut across the wilderness.

Though harsh in winter, the land of the Algonkians was a land of beauty and bounty. Blueberries, cranberries, chokecherries and raspberries thrived in the lush forest belt. Stands of maple trees that yielded sap which was converted into maple sugar sprang up alongside basswood, beech and elm trees. Wild rice plants sprouted in marshy areas.

Moose, deer, bear, beaver, muskrat, badger and raccoon inhabited these woodlands. Trout, sturgeon and pike teemed in lakes and rivers, and waterfowl nested in marshes. Wild turkey, woodcock, plovers and grouse abounded in open fields. On the western fringe of the Algonkian frontier herds of buffalo migrated acoss the prairies.

The Ojibwa, Cree and Algonkin were renowned for their hunting and trapping skills. Hunters and their families were compelled to live a semi-nomadic existence, following the drifting movements of their quarry, and fishing to augment food stores.

Because their domain was ill-adapted to agriculture, they devoted little time and energy to cultivating crops. However, they tilled the soil to a limited extent. The Ojibwa seasonally harvested wild rice and collected sap in the springtime.

The Ojibwa

The name Ojibwa is derived from the Algonkian phrases ojib, meaning "to pucker up", and up-way, meaning "to roast". It is thought to have referred to the puckered seams of moccasins worn by this tribe.

The Ojibwa were not a single people but rather several geographically-separated kinship groups who pursued a similar lifestyle. These sub-tribes were the Lake Superior Ojibwa, the Mississauga, the Ottawa (Odawa) and the Potawatomi. The Lake Superior Ojibwa dwelled on the north shore of Superior, the largest of the Great Lakes. The Mississauga were distributed over two areas, on Manitoulin Island and near the Mississagi River. The Ottawa also inhabited Manitoulin Island, with several bands populating the north and south shores of Georgian Bay. The Potawatomi were an American tribe, a branch of which relocated to Canada.

In the 17th century French explorers encountered Ojibwa at the river now called St. Mary's. They called them Saulteurs, or "people of the rapids". The Saulteurs, or Saulteaux as they were sometimes referred to, called themselves Bawatigowininiwug, "people of the falls". Chippewa was yet another name, actually a corruption of Ojibwa, by which bands of Ojibwa originating in the Lake Superior region were known.

Early population estimates given for the various kinship groups known collectively as Ojibwa range from 25 000 in 1764 to 35 000 in 1912. These figures represent combined Canadian and American populations. Unlike the Iroquoian tribes who congregated in large villages of 2 000 or more, the Ojibwa lived in transient communities of several hundred people, often disbanding into even smaller groups of four or five families.

The Ojibwa were hunters, gatherers and fishermen. Because they were a highly mobile people, their dwellings differed considerably from those of the Huron, Neutral and other Iroquoian tribes.

During the summer months women gathered reeds, weaving these together into rush mats. They stripped sheets of bark from birch trees and sewed them into single lengths. With the rush mats and birch bark they sheathed their lodges. The Ojibwa called these lodges wigwams.

A wigwam was erected by driving stout poles into the ground in a circular pattern, the diameter of which being perhaps ten feet. The poles were drawn together and secured at the top. Then cross poles were lashed to the dome-like structure and the side of the latticework covered with rush mats. The more durable and water-resistant birch barks sheets were reserved for the roof. Alternate layers of bark and moss might be added for insulation during the winter. A hole was cut in the roof to ensure ventillation. Inhabitants entered the wigwam through a small doorway covered with a flap.

Cedar boughs were strewn over the floor and rush mats laid atop these. A clearing was left at the centre of the wigwam where a fire often glowed in the family hearth. Mother, father, children and grandparents reclined on their soft bed of springy boughs, wrapping themselves in animal skins when sleeping. The wigwam was not a spacious dwelling, but it was a cozy and portable shelter. When the time came to break camp, bark and rush coverings were removed and rolled up for easy transport to a new site.

Mobility was essential for the survival of the hunter and his family. The birch bark canoe enabled them to travel through a land of rivers and lakes. It was light, durable and streamlined and accommodated the needs of a hunting party, a band of traders or a family group harvesting wild rice. Travellers portaged between waterways to reach seasonal hunting grounds, maple tree groves or rice fields. When winter came they wore snowshoes and loaded their belongings on toboggans.

Winter was the most arduous of seasons for Canada's native people. In order to endure the rigors of long winter months, they hunted game, fished and cultivated crops during the other seasons, preserving what food they could. Just as corn, beans and squash were the mainstay for agricultural tribes of Southern Ontario and pemmican (dried buffalo meat) for prairie tribes to the west, wild rice was the staple for northern Algonkian tribes like the Ojibwa.

Rice was harvested in autumn, with Ojibwa families migrating to traditional rice fields and encamping on shores close to the rice plants which grew in the shallows. The harvest has been described as follows:

"The rice was harvested by the women . . . A canoe was "poled" through the rice, this being often done by a man. The implements used in the harvesting were two sticks about 24 inches long. The woman seated in the stern of the canoe bent down the stalks with one stick and knocked off the ripe kernels with the other, continuing until her canoe was full of rice kernels. The rice was evenly dried on sheets of birch bark, parched in a kettle to loosen the husk, and then pounded with long wooden pestles in a barrel sunk in the ground, several people combining in this part of the work.

The rice was then winnowed to remove the husks, after which it was "trodden" in a small wooden receptacle, partly sunken in the ground. The treading was done by a man wearing clean moccasins. A pole was placed on one side (or both sides) of the receptacle and he leaned on this pole so that the entire weight of his body did not rest on his feet, the motion being not unlike that of a dancer."

Winnowing techniques, like storing methods, varied from region to region. When kernels had been separated from husk and sealed in bags woven from bark, families loaded the harvest into canoes and journeyed to winter campsites. The rice sacks were often stored below ground in pits lined with birch bark. Together with makuks (bark vessels) brimming with berries, they were covered with strips of bark and layer upon layer of hay, logs and earth. In this way, rice and dried berries were well-preserved from the elements and hidden from wildlife.

Summer was the season for gathering berries, bark and reeds, and autumn the time for harvesting wild rice; the arrival of spring launched another seasonal activity – making maple sugar. As the sap began to rise in maple trees, families fitted out canoes, abandoning their winter domain and venturing forth to individual sugar bushes. There they tapped the trees and boiled large quantities of sap, rendering it down to coarse maple sugar which was stored in makuks.

Boiled rice and moose meat sweetened with berries or maple sugar was an Ojibwa delicacy. Boiled rice, rice parched on a fiery stone, or rice soup, were popular meals. When blended with venison, beaver, duck and other wildlife, rice made a savory stew. On occasion, fish was cooked with rice.

The Ojibwa cultivated small gardens in which they grew corn, pumpkins and squash. From time to time maple sugar was used to season these vegetables. It was also eaten whole or dissolved in water for a sweet drink.

In Ojibwa society division of labour was well-defined. Chores such as gathering firewood, cooking, preparing animal hides, sewing, preserving meat, collecting bark and reeds and making household accessories were performed by women. Women too often loaded and unloaded the canoes, enabling men to pursue hunting activities.

Like their prairie neighbours, Ojibwa hunters devised many ways to stalk animals. They did not, however, hunt on horseback, nor did they drive their quarry into pounds. Instead, they observed the behaviour patterns of moose and deer, and tracked and lured them with calls imitating a fawn in distress or a cow during mating season. Wafts of smoke from burning herbs attracted deer to within an archer's range.

Trapping, like hunting, occurred throughout the year. Traps were used to capture beaver, bear, muskrat, mink and marten and snares to take deer and rabbit. Trapping provided the forest dweller with food and animal hides. Women used the latter to fashion summer and winter wardrobes for their families.

Smoke-tanned deerskin was patterned, cut and sewn into moccasins, leggings, wraparound dresses and breechcloths. Rabbit pelts were stitched together to make a warm winter coat for a woman. Caps and mittens were made of muskrat, beaver and other furbearing animals. The bull moose, usually taken by bow and arrow or spear, weighed 2 500 kg and stood 2 m at the shoulders. Its thickly furred hide provided the Ojibwa seamstress with ample material to make a winter outfit for her husband.

Garments were coloured in red, yellow, green and blue dyes derived from flowers, roots and berries. Porcupine quill and moose hair embroidery, and later ribbon appliqué and bead work, enhanced a hunter's gauntlets or a woman's moccasins.

The artistic talents of Ojibwa women were put to another use – making fish nets. Since fishing was a year-round activity, nets were kept in good repair to ensure a successful catch. Nettle-stalk twine from the wood nettle plant was woven into resilient nets which were staked in rushing river waters to secure large quantities of fish. Other methods – spearing fish at night by torchlight, ice fishing with wooden decoys, trolling and the use of bone hooks – were also employed.

The Ojibwa were industrious people who devoted much time to fishing, hunting and other subsistence activities. Recreation afforded them a welcome change of pace. On festive occasions they danced and sang to the haunting melody of flutes and the rhythmic beats of rattles and drums. Fair weather might prompt one community to challenge another to a game of lacrosse, or baggataway, as they called it. If the weather were inclement, the wigwam became the setting for a casual throw of dice or for other games of chance. Snowsnakes, a game in which competitors hurled smooth poles down an icy runway in an effort to outdistance each other, was a popular winter pastime.

Children amused themselves by playing with miniature replicas of bows and arrows; a tiny toboggan might be a child's most treasured toy. When darkness fell, youngsters crowded around the campfire, enthralled as elders told stories of Nanabush, the creator, and Windingo, a legendary man-eating giant.

The Ojibwa were superstitious, believing that good and evil spirits dwelled everywhere in the natural world. Whether animate or inanimate, every object had a power that could either help or hinder an individual. Such a power, or supernatural force, was called manitou.

During adolescence every young man embarked on a vision quest. He fasted and meditated for several days until his personal manitou was revealed to him. This guardian spirit might reveal itself in the image of a bear or an eagle, in which case the young man would include charms like a bear claw or an eagle feather in his medicine bundle. Charms such as these warded off evil spirits.

Dreams were a source of revelation. In dreams, one was transported from the natural world to the world of the manitou. By interpreting dreams, a greater understanding of the mysteries of life could be attained.

In Ojibwa culture an elite group of medicine men acted as mediators between human beings and the manitous. This group was known as the Grand Medicine Society, and both men and women were admitted into it during Midewiwin. Candidates underwent a purification ritual, entering a special wigwam, or sweat lodge, where the scented vapour of a herbal sauna cleansed their spirits and bodies.

Upon acceptance into the Society, a medicine man, or *mide*, began a lengthy period of apprenticeship. Under the supervision of more experienced medicine men he gathered many types of herbs, using them for medicinal purposes, diagnosing illnesses and curing the sick. If he wished to enter the higher levels, he was obliged to pay a customary fee. The highest level was a rather exclusive one reserved for only the richest and most knowledgeable community members.

A reverence for the supernatural was ingrained in Ojibwa customs. At birth, a baby was wrapped and placed on a cradleboard. The parents, mindful that their newborn had to be protected against evil spirits or a spell cast by an ill-wishing shaman, attached charms to the cradleboard. They believed these attracted good spirits. The manitous were further appeased at a special naming ceremony attended by the child's relatives and family friends; before naming the child, his grandfather or an elder kinsman sought the consent of the spirits.

Death, like birth, had spiritual significance. Of the Ojibwa conception of immortality anthropologist Diamond Jenness wrote:

"They distinguished the shade or image of a man from his soul, believing that the former remained near his grave, or haunted the habitations of his kindred, whereas the latter went to the land of souls in the south."

When an individual died, his relatives clothed the body in fine apparel, flexed the corpse in a sitting position and interred it in a grave. Food, tobacco and personal effects were placed beside the body, for it was thought these would be used by his spirit for the journey to the land of souls. At an annual Feast of the Dead, food was burnt in honour of the shades of the dead.

The Ojibwa, like various Iroquoian tribes, had a penchant for medicine societies and practised a form of spirit worship. Certain social conventions, however, differed radically from those of their southerly neighbours.

Marriage custom required a hunter to present a deer to the parents of his prospective wife, thereby demonstrating his intent. If the deer was accepted, the couple married and took up residence at the wigwam of the bride's parents. They remained for a year, erecting a wigwam of their own after this trial period ended.

When the woman bore a child, the newborn became a member of his father's clan. The child traced his descent through the line of his father and not through his mother's line, as would a Huron or Neutral.

There were more than 20 clans, with these kinship groups being named after creatures thought to have founded various clans such as the moose, lynx, bear, wolf and crane. Clan members were scattered throughout the tribal bands inhabiting Northern Ontario. When travelling, they relied on fellow clansmen for hospitality. In the event of intertribal strife, they knew they could depend on one another for support. This devotion to mutual well-being contributed to the overall strength of the Ojibwa nation.

They were a peaceful people, avoiding hostility when they could and repulsed by torture methods practised by the Iroquoians. The Ottawa, an Ojibwa subtribe, enjoyed the reputation of being prosperous intertribal traders who monopolized the Ottawa River trade route and controlled access to French trading posts beyond the Lower St. Lawrence River.

Both the Sioux, who dwelled southwest of Lake Superior, and the Iroquois Confederacy in the southeast opposed the Ojibwa. Unable to resist the advances of the latter, the Ojibwa withdrew from their homeland in the mid-1600s, only to return 50 years hence, when, spurred on by the search for beaver pelts, they wrested their former territory from the once invincible League.

The Cree

"We have long known that we have a northern sea behind us," wrote Father Chaumonot, a Jesuit missionary visiting the Cree in the 17th century. ". . . Its shores are occupied by a host of Indians entirely unacquainted with Europeans," he continued. ". . . Upon this sea are found, at certain seasons of the year, many surrounding nations embraced under the general name of Kilistonons (Cree). The Great Cree Nation is therefore divided according to locality. . . ."

The northern sea to which he referred was Hudson Bay. The Cree, numbering 15 000 and known as Kristineaux by the French, dwelled along the southern perimeter of the Bay, merging with the Ojibwa north of the Great Lakes. Their territory was bounded on the east by Lake Mistassini and extended west to the prairie frontier.

During the latter part of the 17th century the Cree obtained firearms from the Hudson's Bay Company, expanding further westward until their dominion encompassed the northern regions of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, the valley of Slave River and southeastern Great Slave Lake. A branch of the Cree drifted southwest, forming an alliance with the Assiniboine, a tribe that had broken from the Dakota Sioux and relocated to the Canadian Prairies. Adopting the customs of the Assiniboine, the prairie newcomers became known as the Plains Cree. They hunted buffalo, ate pemmican and erected buffalo-skin tipis. Scattered bands of their parent tribe who had remained in the northern woodlands continued to pursue the traditional lifestyle of forest dwellers. Those who dwelled in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan have been called Woodland Cree and those in northern Manitoba and Ontario, Swampy Cree.

The Cree of historic Ontario hunted moose and bear and stalked woodland caribou by driving herds of them into pounds similar to those used by the Neutral. They trapped beaver and snared hare but, unlike the Ojibwa, devoted little time to fishing. They lived in dome-shaped wigwams covered with birch bark or, further north, in conical-shaped tipis covered with caribou skins.

A Cree woman made garments from the hides of moose and caribou. Once an animal had been skinned, she went about the task of dehairing and flensing the hide, (soaking it in water and removing hair and flesh with a bone scraper). She then soaked it in a concoction of animal brains and water, wrung it out and stretched it taut over a framework of poles to dry. To further preserve the hide, she suspended it over a smoldering fire. Punk wood was used to fuel the fire, as it produced a smudge ideal for the smoke tanning process.

Clothing was sewn with sinew taken from the back or legs of caribou, moose or deer. Strips of this tough tendon were carefully removed from the animal and separated into thin fibres. On occasion, this "natural" thread would be braided for added strength. The Cree seamstress, threading her bone needle with a sinew strand, fashioned summer and winter wardrobes for her hunter and children.

Babiche was another commodity derived from forest mammals such as moose and caribou. To make this leathery cord, women inserted a knife at the centre of a prepared hide, cutting a 2 cm wide continuous strip in a spiral pattern. The thong was then stretched, drying to less than half its former width.

Babiche was used to secure a load, make a dog harness or as lacing for a cradleboard. When strung on an oval frame of ash, poplar or birch, it formed resilient webbing for the "bearpaw", a type of snowshoe favoured by the Cree in densely-forested areas. Bearpaw snowshoes were modelled after the feathery foot of the ptarmigan, a northern bird. With a pair strapped to his moccassins, a hunter or trapper was able to shuffle over snow-covered terrain with ease.

The Cree relied on the birch bark canoe for water transport. Bark for a canoe was stripped from felled birch trees in early summer and stored in the shade until a canoe was to be made.

Building a canoe was a family affair that took several weeks. Cutting down white cedar trees, men hewed wooden strips into canoe ribs, thwarts, gunwales and sheathing. A series of parallel stakes was driven into the ground and birch bark sheets laid between in a position roughly conforming to the overall dimensions of the canoe. Rocks were placed atop the bark hull, thus stabilizing the structure while women trimmed and stitched it. They split, peeled and soaked white spruce root, making watup to sew the bark sheets together and secure them to the frame. When the men had lodged the last strip of the frame in place and the stitching was completed, the seams of the vessel were coated with heated spruce gum and grease. Waterproofed and streamlined, the canoe was then ready for use.

The Cree travelled extensively throughout their northern domain, paddling heavily-laden canoes during warm months and trekking with snowshoes in winter. Family groups banded together and formed small hunting communities. The family, in fact, was the principal social unit of Cree society.

A hunter chose a wife with her parents' consent; they took up temporary residence with the bride's parents and soon began their own family, rearing their children in the traditions of their people. Polygamy was recurrent within the community, often stemming from necessity rather than promiscuity. If a man's brother died, he became responsible for the welfare of the widow and children.

A child was not born into a clan. There were no clans and no structured government. A community elder might win the respect of those around him and assume the position of band headman, but he acted as a mentor rather than a ruler. This mild-mannered authority with unwritten codes differed considerably from the elaborate democracy and the Great Law established by the 50 chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy.

For the Cree, as for the Iroquois, the integrity of the community was paramount. In Cree society, however, safeguarding the community took on a different perspective. Because they were nomadic, their precarious lifestyle gave rise to different customs and norms than those evident in an agricultural society such as the Iroquois.

In the forests of Northern Ontario, the survival of many could be jeopardized by a single person. An elder or infirm who could not cope with the rigors of hunting and gathering became a burden on his and other families of the isolated community. More often than not, he was abandoned or sought the assistance of others to commit suicide. In certain instances, the community had no choice but to kill him.

Though cannibalism was not common, in times of dearth people looked upon it as a last resort. An elder might sacrifice his life so that the young and strong could survive. With such sporadic occurrences of cannibalism, it was inevitable that legends depicting the land of the windingo with supernatural man-eating giants would evolve and become part of Cree mythology.

For the Cree, one's fate was inseparably linked with the whims of the supernatural. Like the Ojibwa, they recognized the presence of both good and evil spirits in nature. Fear of malicious spirits and a desire to propitiate benevolent ones inspired certain rituals and gave rise to curing societies resembling the Ojibwa Grand Medicine Society.

During adolescence a young man embarked on a vision quest, fasting for several days until his guardian spirit was revealed to him. When hunting, men always carried their personal medicine bundles containing charms with which to appease the spirits of their quarry. They were careful to observe taboos governing hunting activities. Medicine men of secret curing societies collected herbs and administered these remedies to the sick. They prided themselves in their knowledge of herbal lore and in the rapport they claimed to have with the beings of the spirit world.

Prior to the 17th century, the Cree were a prosperous people. Their population was stable and their traditions secure. Smallpox changed this. The consequences of smallpox have been described thus:

"The medicine of neither shaman nor herbalist benefited those who were sick with smallpox. This was a time of shattering impact on the Indians' traditional beliefs and faiths – the faiths by which he lived. . . Smallpox ravaged the Indians from the early 1600's until the late 1800's. The Montagnais got it first because they were first in contact with the French at Tadoussac. The earliest outbreak was in 1635 and it swept like a fierce nemesis through the eastern woodlands, spreading over half the continent by 1700. By 1738 the Sioux, Cree, Piegan and Assiniboine were dying and the stench of rotting corpses hung over the ghost villages of the plains."

Subsequent epidemics in 1784 and in 1838 devastated the once dynamic Great Cree Nation. "Nowhere in the world," states one source, "could there have been a more efficient killer. The nomads, constantly on the move, carried it from area to area, from region to region, from great watershed to great watershed."

By the middle of the 19th century the westward advance of the Cree came to a standstill. Those who had migrated from eastern woodlands to western plains, challenging the Siksika, Blood and Piegan for control of the Canadian Prairies, struggled to survive. Diseased and demoralized, the Plains Cree, together with the Woodland and Swampy Cree, numbered fewer than 5 000.

The Algonkin

The Algonkin were a tribal grouping that inhabited the Ottawa Valley and nearby regions at the outset of the 17th century. In 1603 French explorer Samuel de Champlain first encountered members of this tribe while visiting a band of Montagnais encamped on the outskirts of Tadoussac. Living with the Montagnais were two other bands: a branch of the Etchemin (Malecite) and a band Champlain called Algoumequins.

To historians tracing the origin of the name Algonkin, one point has become clear; it is derived from Algoumequins or Algonquin – a shorter version of the French appellation in vogue during the time of Champlain and his contemporaries. Champlain coined the term Algoumequins while attending a feast at which the Algonkin performed a ceremonial dance. ". . . While they were dancing this dance," recorded Champlain in an account of his voyage, "the (chief) of the Algoumequins, whose name was Besouat, sat before the said women and virgins, between two staves, whereon the scalps of their enemies did hang. . ."

Why did Champlain refer to the dancers as Algoumequins? The answer, maintain some linguists, lies in the Malecite word a'llegon kin, meaning "those who perform the dance" or simply "the dancers". It is probable that Champlain overheard the Etchemin (Malecite) refer to their festive acquaintances as a'llegonkin and, thinking this to be their name, subsequently pronounced and recorded it in the French tongue as Algoumequins. Thus it was that the band visited by Champlain in 1603, probably an offshoot of the Kichesippirini Indians, came to be known as Algoumequins and a smaller band visited by him in 1609, the Weskarini, came to be known as "la Petite Nation des Algoumequins".

The Kichesippirini, or "People of the Great River", together with the Weskarini, Kinouchepirini, Matouescarini and other bands occupying central Ontario during the 1600s have henceforth been referred to collectively as Algonkin. The language they spoke was called Algonkian. The Ojibwa, Cree and other tribes speaking languages similar to the Algonkin were, and still are, regarded as members of the Algonkian linguistic family.

The domain of the Algonkin was bordered by the Montagnais in the north and the Huron in the south. To the northwest of their land lay the territory of the Cree; to the southwest, that of the Ojibwa – it was inevitable they would be exposed to the culture and customs of each. They were essentially a forest people, hunting, gathering and trapping to survive. They lived in wigwams similar to those of the Montagnais. They wore deerskin garments, smoke tanning animal hides, as did their Ojibwa and Cree neighbours. They travelled in birch bark canoes and used snowshoes. Southern bands of the tribe learned how to cultivate vegetable gardens from the Huron.

The Algonkin were widespread but not numerous. A pre-contact population of 4 000 qualified them as one of the smaller indigenous tribes of historic Ontario. During the mid-1600s they were compelled to ally their meagre forces with those of the Montagnais in an effort to resist the encroachment of the Iroquois Confederacy. They did not succeed, however, and were ousted by the League. The eventual decline of Iroquois power saw the Algonkin return to traditional hunting grounds and resume their former lifestyle.

Population Profile

Historians, anthropologists and native elders have done much to provide a cultural profile of Algonkian tribes dwelling in Ontario several hundred years ago. Their revelations, based on research and oral tradition, depict the lifestyle and evolution of such prominent tribes as the Ojibwa, Cree and Algonkin. The history of smaller Algonkian groups native to Ontario remains relatively obscure by comparison. Early records kept by the Jesuit missionaries are one of the few sources of information about these isolated and nomadic people.

The Jesuits left their European homeland during the 17th century to journey to the New World, seeking to convert Indians. They dwelled amongst various tribes, and recorded their experiences with and impressions of remote groups such as the Abitibi, Timiscaming and Nipissing. The Jesuits compiled these records into reports sent periodically to their superiors in France.

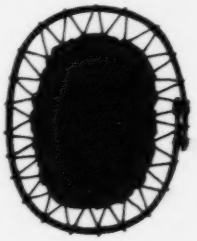
The first of what would become a series of anthologies containing reports from missionaries abroad was published in 1632 – entitled *Les Relations de la Nouvelle France*. Over a period of 41 years Sebastien Cramoisy, King's Printer in Paris, published a bound volume of Les Relations annually. In 1858 the Cramoisy series was edited, with additional material incorporated into the body of work, and published in French.

In 1901 the Burrows Brothers of Cleveland, Ohio, published the most complete English version of Les Relations. The 72 volumes were edited by Reuben G. Thwaites, assisted by a corps of translators. This consolidation included original French, Latin and Italian texts together with an English translation, notes and maps. The full title is the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610 to 1791.

Since the publishing of Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, researchers devoted to unravelling the history of native people have relied on it as well as Champlain's memoirs and accounts of explorers and adventurers for a record of the past.

In recent years, through the joint effort of Indian Band Councils and Government agencies, an ongoing census of status Indians has been conducted. This constant updating of population statistics gives an accurate picture of how many status Indians reside in each province, the bands they are affiliated with and the reserves they live on.

In 1979 a total of 49 983 Algonkian people resided in Ontario and constituted 110 bands. The largest Ojibwa bands were the Fort Hope Band (pop. 1 965) and the Wikwemikong Band (pop. 1 595). The largest Cree bands and were the Deer Lake Band (pop. 2 043) and the Moose Factory Band (pop. 1 431). The Golden Lake Band (pop. 524) was the only Algonkin band in Ontario.



Knitting snowshoes. Photo courtesy National Museum of Canada.

A typical Indian tipi at Trout Lake, Ontario, July, 1929. Photo taken during Treaty 9 payments. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.

An Indian family travelling by canoe, Abitibi River, Ontario. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.

Calling a moose. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.

Explorers and Traders

Iroquoian and Algonkian people inhabiting Ontario underwent a dramatic transformation with the arrival of European explorers during the latter part of the 15th and early 16th centuries.

Portuguese, French, Dutch and English voyagers followed Columbus. They came to harvest the ocean's resources and to trade for furs, to explore and exploit, and finally to settle.

In 1534 Jacques Cartier of St. Malo was commissioned by King Francis I of France to investigate the new land and seek a navigable passage to the East. Cartier's first voyage brought him through the Strait of Belle Isle into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On a second voyage in 1535, Cartier ventured 800 miles up the St. Lawrence River, reaching the Huron-Iroquois settlement of Stadacona and the Algonkian village of Hochelaga (Quebec City and Montreal respectively).

Cartier did not establish a permanent colony on the shores of the St. Lawrence, nor was he successful in finding the fabled "route to China". However, the river which he named soon became an increasingly popular waterway, and enterprising merchants came to frequent various ports of call along its shoreline.

The Atlantic seacoast harboured many French fishing vessels eager to trade with Indian communities. Beads, guns, whisky and blankets were bartered for beaver pelts which fetched high prices in a lucrative European market. Beaver hats were in vogue abroad and beaver pelts much sought after by European furriers.

At the outset of the 17th century Samuel de Champlain, adventurer and Royal Geographer for King Henry IV of France, embarked on an expedition to the land known as New France. In 1603, Champlain's party of two ships travelled up the St. Lawrence to the site of Hochelaga. The village had been abandoned.

By then the migratory Algonkians and their Huron allies controlled a vast expanse of territory west of lakes Ontario and Erie. Yet, this control was continually challenged by the hostile Iroquoian tribes to the east. Fearing their aggression, the Algonkians sought the support of Champlain in the spring of 1608. Mindful of benefits to be gained by establishing a rapport with the custodians of a land he wished to explore, Champlain came to their aid.

Accompanying a war party along the Richelieu River to the lake which bears his name, Champlain encountered a band of 200 Iroquois. The skirmish that ensued was shortlived. Playing a leading role in the exchange, Champlain described how he confronted his adversaries:

"When I was within 20 paces, the enemy, halting, gazed at me; as I also gazed at them. When I saw them move to shoot I drew a bead on one of their chiefs. I had loaded with four bullets and hit three men at the first discharge, killing two on the spot. When our Indians saw this they roared so loudly that you could not have heard it thunder. Then arrows flew like hail on both sides. But when my companions fired from the woods, the Iroquois, seeing their chiefs killed, turned tail and fled."

Unknown to these French marksmen who fired their arquebuses at the "enemy" were the repercussions this demonstration of bravado would trigger. Though Champlain's tactic thwarted the Iroquois for the moment, he could not foresee the raids his embittered foe would launch against French settlements being built along the St. Lawrence. Had Champlain remained detached from the intertribal strife, the Iroquois might have allied themselves with the French instead of the English, thereby paving the way for French rather than British rule of a young Canadian nation.

Champlain continued to partake in expeditions on behalf of France and in his travels undertook a canoe trip up the Ottawa River. He pressed forth through the northern forest belt, portaging until he reached Lake Nipissing. Later, he and his expedition journeyed south, encamping on the shores of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay. Overwhelmed by the beauty of Lake Huron's far-reaching waters, Champlain called it "the Freshwater Sea".

In a quest for pelts and power the British opposed the French trade monopoly. Enlisting the services of two experienced French adventurers, Médard Chouart (Sieur des Groseilliers) and Pierre Esprit Radisson, the British succeeded in penetrating the Hudson Strait and initiating trade into Hudson Bay.

The Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson Bay, later known as the Hudson's Bay Company, was established in 1670 under a charter granted by Charles II of England. This exclusive charter provided the Company with fur trading privileges over what is now the whole of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, the southern half of Alberta, a large portion of the Northwest Territories, and other districts as well. As more and more furs were diverted north through coastal posts and factories erected by the Hudson's Bay Company, French trade in New France was impeded.

To counter English trade activity, Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, a wealthy merchant, organized *La Compagnie du Nord* in 1682. Hostilities broke out between the newly-established Compagnie and the Hudson's Bay Company. The conflict was widespread and continued until 1713, when the French withdrew from the north.

In the meantime, the French had cultivated an interest in the south and west, seeking out Indian parties with which to trade. Jean-Baptiste Gaultier de la Vérendrye, together with his three sons, his nephew and 50 other Frenchmen, discovered a route across the Canadian Shield extending to the western frontier. Regular routes were subsequently established on the Mississippi River, south of the Great Lakes, and a series of forts built to conduct trade.

With the fall of the French régime in 1759, a large number of free traders competed for the wealth of furs in the north. They soon discovered that operating independently was neither practical nor profitable, so in 1784 they joined forces and formed the North-West Fur Trading Company.

The fledgling company quickly expanded its operations, tapping fur resources as far west as the Pacific Ocean and as far north as the Arctic Ocean. It was inevitable their interest in exploiting these resources would overlap those of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Rivalry ensued between the two companies, with each competing for Indian favour. The Ojibwa, Cree and Algonkin became willing victims of an avarice that snatched a hundred beaver pelts from a trapper's canoe in exchange for several bottles of whisky. Indian communities shifted their locations to accommodate a growing dependence on commodities that only the white trader could provide. Surveyor and fur trader David Thompson described the plight of the Indian trapper:

"The Nepissings, the Algonkins and Iroquois Indians have exhausted their own countries, now spread themselves over these countries, and as they destroyed the Beaver, moved forwards to the northward and westward; the Natives, the Nahathaways (Cree) did not in the least molest them; the Chippeways and other tribes made use of Traps of steel; and of the Castorum. For several years all these Indians were rich, the Women and Children, as well as the Men, were covered with silver brooches, Ear Rings, Wampum, Beads and other trinkets. Their mantles were of fine scarlet cloth, and all was finery and dress. The Canoes of the Furr Traders were loaded with packs of Beaver, the abundance of the article lowered the London prices. Every intelligent Man saw the poverty that would follow the destruction of the Beaver, but there were no Chiefs to controul it; all was perfect liberty and equality. Four years afterwards (1797) almost the whole of these extensive countries were denuded of Beaver, the Natives became poor, and with difficulty procured the first necessities of life. . ."

In 1821, unable to grapple with pressure exerted by its chief competitor, the North-West Fur Trading Company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company. The senior company henceforth enjoyed a trade monopoly that embraced all the territory east of the Rocky Mountains. In 1869, however, it surrendered its sole right to trade and commerce to the Dominion of Canada. Thereafter, it traded as an individual company with no particular rights or privileges. In 1902 the Revillon Frères Trading Company established trading posts throughout the James Bay area. The French newcomers remained in the north until 1934, when the beaver population could no longer sustain the dual impact of their operation and that of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Missionaries

Roman Catholic

The first missionaries to visit historic Ontario belonged to the Recollet Order (Franciscans). Four Recollets accompanied Champlain to Quebec in 1615. One of these, Father Joseph Le Caron, journeyed with him up the Ottawa River, reaching the Huron villages in July of that year. Le Caron remained with the Huron until 1616, visiting the Tobacco Nation and adjoining tribes. He returned to the Huron mission in 1623 together with Nicolas Viel and Gabriel Sagard, both Recollet missionaries. In 1625 Le Caron aided Champlain in securing temporary peace with the Iroquois. Recollet missions were established at Carhagouha and among the Nipissing communities. The Recollets sought the aid of the Jesuits in Canada, as they felt the mission field was too expensive for their limited resources. In response to their appeal, the Jesuits came to Canada in 1625 and laboured with the Recollets until the fall of Quebec in 1629.

When Quebec was restored to France in 1632, the Recollets were excluded. The Jesuits, however, returned to Canada and made Quebec their headquarters, sending missionaries far afield to preach and convert. A scourge of smallpox during 1636-37 brought about the demise of many Huron and had repercussions on the progress of the missions. In 1649 many missionaries were killed during the Iroquois assault on the Huron and the rest were recalled to Quebec. Twenty-nine missionaries worked in the Huron missions and seven of them met violent deaths. A monument was erected at Penetanguishene in 1885 in honour of Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant, who were slain during the Iroquois wars.

The early missionaries, together with explorers and traders, pioneered the wilderness and recorded their impressions of the native people they encountered. In 1653 Father Simon Le Moyne journeyed to Lake Ontario on a mission to the Iroquois and their captives, the Huron, and returned to Quebec the same year. Father René Ménard reached the shores of Lake Superior in 1660 to work among the Ottawa (Odawa), but perished during an inland sojourn. Father Claude Allouez worked among scattered bands of Huron and reached the site of Father Ménard's mission at Sault Ste. Marie in 1665. He taught the Ottawa, Ojibwa, Nipissing and Huron for several years. Father Jacques Marquette visited the Sault mission in 1668, remaining there until 1671, when he moved south of Lake Superior with part of his following.

Father Fenelon and Father Trouvé founded the first Sulpician mission among the Indian communities at the Bay of Quinte in 1668. In 1677 the Recollets took over the administration of this mission, remaining there for a decade.

Father Louis André and Father Gabriel Dreuilletes were sent to Sault Ste. Marie in 1670. Father Dreuilletes remained there until 1679, but Father André left soon after his arrival. He visited the Mississauga, wintered at Lake Nipissing and journeyed to Manitoulin Island in the spring.

Accounts of the Roman Catholic missions in Ontario are sketchy for the latter decades of the 1600s. Documents recording their work appear to have been destroyed or lost. Missionary activities seem to have been centred in Detroit and Louisiana during this period.

In 1735 Father Aulneau accompanied explorer Jean-Baptiste Gaultier de la Vérendrye to Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, where he laboured among the Cree. In 1736 he was killed, together with a party of his fellow countrymen, by a band of Sioux.

In 1751 Father Picquet voyaged to Fort Frontenac, the Bay of Quinte, the River Trent and many points along the Great Lakes. He then returned to Fort Frontenac.

After the suppression of the Jesuits in France in 1761 and the assumption of British rule in Canada in 1763, the Jesuit and Recollet missionaries withdrew from Ontario. An agreement was made between the superior of the Montreal Seminary and the new bishop in Quebec which stipulated that the Sulpician Order was to serve all the missions in Ontario. In 1793 the Abbe Desjardins and Chevalier de La Corne secured ground for building a church and presbytery in Kingston, and in 1795 Father Bedard was appointed there.

In 1804 Bishop Alexander McDonnell arrived in Ontario with a band of discharged Highland soldiers and their families. They settled in Glengarry. Bishop McDonnell had been an officer in the British army and was therefore granted a tract of land which came to be known as Priest's Mills (Alexandria). He laboured virtually alone among the native communities for 10 years, travelling from Lake Superior to the provincial boundary of Quebec. An excerpt from a letter dated 1836 depicts the scope of his travels:

". . . Upon entering my pastoral duties, I had the whole of the Province in charge, and without any assistance for the space of ten years. During that period I had to travel from Lake Superior to the province line of Lower Canada, carrying the sacred vestments, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on my back and sometimes in Indian birch canoes, living with the Indians, without any other shelter but what their fires and their fares and the branches of the trees afforded . . ."

Alexander McDonnell became bishop of Kingston in 1826.

In 1840-41, a newly-founded order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, arrived in Canada. This marked the beginning of a new era for Canadian Indian missions. OMI priests were soon ministering both in Upper Canada and in the far west. In 1842 the Jesuits, who had been suppressed, returned to work in Upper Canada.

By 1844 there were many Roman Catholic Ojibwa living on Manitoulin Island and some in Amherstburg. A priest resided among the Ottawa at Wikwemikong after 1838. Most of the Ojibwa of Beausoleil were Roman Catholic and were visited by a priest from Penetanguishene.

By 1858 the Indian communities dwelling in the Robinson Treaty area had a Roman Catholic missionary residing among them. A group of Indians around Lake Nipigon joined the church under the guidance of Father Chonet.

Church of England

Church of England missionaries came to Ontario following the American Revolution and sought converts among the Six Nations newcomers. Many Indians had already been converted as a result of missionary activity dating back to the early days of European settlement in New England.

In the letters patent for the plantation in Virginia which were granted by James I in 1606 and renewed three years later, the colonists were enjoined to spread the Christian gospel among the inhabitants. As early as 1589 the idea of teaching Christianity had been put forth by Sir Walter Raleigh, who contributed 100 pounds in funds "in special regard and zeal in planting the Christian religion". The first Protestant minister to preach exclusively to the Indians of New England was John Eliot. He began his mission in 1646, continuing until he died in 1690.

During the government of Oliver Cromwell, The Corporation for the Promoting and Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England was formed. In 1664 the Corporation provided money for the printing of John Eliot's translation of the Bible into Mohican. Soon after the monarchy was restored to power, Charles II revised the organization under the new name, The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America. The fledgling enterprise later developed into The New England Company.

In 1696, The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was formed by Dr. Thomas Bray, receiving its charter from William III. The main objective of the Society was "the fixing of Parochial Libraries throughout the Plantations".

The Dutch, after founding New Amsterdam (New York), were the first Europeans to come into contact with the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy. They formed a Covenant Chair, or compact, with the Iroquois which was transferred to the English in later years. The League of Iroquois became the oldest allies of Great Britain in the New World.

In 1703 the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations requested Archbishop Tenison and Queen Anne of England to send missionaries to the then Five Nations Iroquois. Their request was honoured when Rev. Thoroughgood Moore, minister of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel, arrived in New York in 1704. Rev. Moore was succeeded by others who converted Mohawk, Oneida and Tuscarora people.

The first Church of England clergyman to visit Ontario was Rev. John Ogilvie who, in a letter dated February, 1760, stated:

"...Last summer I attended the Royal American Regiment upon the Expedition to Niagara; and, indeed, there was no other chaplain upon that department, though there were three regular regiments and the Provicial Regiment of New York. The Mohawks were all upon this service, and almost all the Six Nations...I officiated regularly to the Mohawks and the Oneidas, who regularly attended Divine Service..."

When the American Revolution began in 1776, the Iroquois, and in particular the Mohawk, remained loyal to the British cause. Under the guidance of Captain Joseph Brant, war chief of the Niagara forces, they came to Ontario to settle along the Grand River. They were joined in 1784 by Rev. John Stuart, who had been with them in New York State seven years earlier. During his absence, native catechists kept the faith alive. Seventy-eight infants and five adults were baptized by Rev. Stuart during his first post-war visit. In July 1784 he set up his headquarters at Cataraqui (Kingston), thus founding the Church of England in Ontario.

Joseph Brant made two visits to England on behalf of his people. On the second occasion, the Society for the Propagation of Faith sought his aid in translating the Prayer Book, the Book of Psalms and the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk language. A church was erected at Grand River by Brant in 1786. Soon afterward, another was erected at the Bay of Quinte, where both a teacher and a catechist provided instruction to Indian children.

The New England Company sent two preachers to the Six Nations Indians in 1745. It planned to minister to four groups: the Six Nations, settled along the banks of the Grand River; the people living along Rice and Mud lakes; the people living along the shores of the Bay of Quinte; and those living along the Garden River near Sault Ste. Marie.

The New England Company made its first grant for a schoolmaster in the Mohawk settlement at the Bay of Quinte in 1821. Rev. Saltern Givins was missionary there from 1831 to 1851, when he was succeeded by Rev. G.A. Anderson. Rev. William Hugh was the first missionary of the New England Company at Grand River. In 1827 the Mohawk Parsonage and two Schools were built.

In 1830 a society was formed at York (Toronto) for the purpose of converting the Indians as well as attending the destitute settlers. An Indian mission was opened at Sault Ste. Marie by J.D. Cameron, a lay worker who was succeeded in 1832 by Rev. William McMurray.

In 1828 the New England Company sent Baptist minister Richard Scott to visit various missions, among them the settlements at Rice and Mud lakes where he was posted the next year as a resident missionary. The Company established a school at Mud Lake in 1830. Rev. John Gilmour succeeded Scott in 1837. Rev. Gilmour was succeeded by Rev. Edward Roberts in 1867 These men worked together with the resident Wesleyan missionary at Rice Lake.

The Church of England also had converts and schools among the Ojibwa and Munsee of the Thames and among the Ojibwa of River Aux Sables and Manitowaning. Anglican minister Rev. Richard Flood wrote of his experiences with these people:

"Four different tribes of Indians are comprised in my mission, besides the European settlers; the Oneidas, the Munceys, the Chipeways and the Potawatomies who are very few in number. . . For two whole years, after I had commenced my labours among these savage tribes, there appeared 'no fruit'. At the end of those years of trial and perplexity, it pleased the Most High to open the heart of their principal chief (called Captain Snake), nephew of a celebrated warrior called Tecumseh, who then sought admission into the Church by baptism. Many of the tribe, after preparatory instructions, immediately followed his example."

Methodist

Wesleyan Methodists began organized missionary and educational activities among the scattered Indian bands of Ontario in 1824. In 1825 Rev. William Case visited the Bay of Quinte where he converted Peter Jones (son of a Welsh surveyor and an Ojibwa mother) who was raised among his mother's people. Peter, whose Indian name was Kahkewaquonaby, became a lay missionary. In 1827 he toured Lake Simcoe, Lake St. Clair, Muncey and other points in Ontario. During this time he also translated hymns into Ojibwa. He was ordained in 1830, later visiting New York and England. It was largely through his efforts that land titles were perfected for the Credit Indians. In addition to the hymns, he composed an Ojibwa spelling book, translated several books of the Bible and wrote a history of his people. He died in 1856.

A band of Mississauga (Ojibwa) who had settled on Grape Island in the Bay of Quinte were converted to Methodism in 1826. The Methodist Mission Society maintained a manual labour school there, later moving to Alnwick, near Rice Lake. In 1831 the Society built a chapel, workshop and school for the Credit River people. The same year, they erected a mission house and a combined school and chapel at Saugeen.

By 1844 there were 260 Methodist communicants together with a resident missionary among the Chippewa (Ojibwa) and Munsee of the Thames. Larger congregations resided at St. Clair, Rama and Snake Island. Schools and missions at Mount Elgin, Munceytown, Nawash and Sarnia were well attended by Indian youths. Oneida of the Thames immigrants from the United States were converted to Methodism. The Wesleyan Society supported their missionary and a school, which was attended by 30 children. Around 1856 the Society supported a missionary among the Potawatomi of Walpole Island, and a few years later, a church and school were built among the Chippewa of the same district.

Methodist missionaries attributed much of their success to the participation of Indian converts in preaching Christianity. Indian preachers were sensitive to the traditions and needs of their people and could better communicate with them in their own language. In addition to Peter and John Jones, other Indian converts were Shawaudais, commonly known as John Sunday, and Rev. Henry Steinhauer, who became a missionary to the Cree. Rev. James Evans, born in England, worked among the Cree and devised a writing system (syllabics) still in use today.

Moravian

Moravian colonists came to Pennsylvania from Germany in 1740. David Zeisberger and Christian Post started work among the Indians in 1747 and converted many Munsee and Deleware. During and after the Revolutionary War the new converts were persecuted, suffering great hardships. They left their homeland and came to Canada in 1791. One hundred and fifty-one people and several missionaries settled in Fairfield on the Thames River in 1793.

The settlement on the Thames prospered until the War of 1812, when it and another small settlement were burned to the ground. Much of the community's land was sold in the years that followed, causing 230 of their number to return to the United States in 1837 and settle in Missouri. A sense of apathy fell over those who remained behind. In 1867 Brother Reinke was sent as missionary to the small community, and though he was able to rekindle interest in the Church, a smallpox epidemic claimed many of his parishioners in 1789. Only the erecting of a hospital by Indian doctors Oronhyatehkha and Kenvendeshon, who vaccinated distraught patients, prevented the total destruction of the community.

The Moravian missionaries withdrew from Canada in 1902, when the Methodist Church took over their work. The work of the Methodists was subsequently adopted by the United Church of Canada, formed in 1925. That year there were more than 5 000 practising Indian converts in Ontario.

Education

Until the end of French power in Canada in 1763, little had been done to establish schools and provide a formal education for the aboriginal inhabitants of Ontario.

Among the first church-supported Protestant schools were those under the auspices of the Church of England Missionary Society. The Society opened the first Indian school in Canada on the Grand River. The schoolmaster was appointed by Joseph Brant, who was occasionally a guest instructor at the school. The Grand River school remained in operation until 1813.

In 1822 a delegation of Indians visited England, requesting that an Indian school be established to serve their Six Nations brethren who had moved from the United States to settle in Canada. They were well-received and a school was opened two years later. Twenty-one pupils attended on a regular basis.

The missionary societies that had been active in New England before the Revolution expanded their educational endeavours when they arrived in Canada. In 1830 the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (The New England Company) began a technical training school known as the Mohawk Institute. Mechanics, carpentry and tailoring were trades taught to men; weaving and spinning were skills taught to women. Farming instruction was also provided, and many graduates developed productive farms on their reserves.

Under the guidance of the Church of England, schools were opened in 1827 at Salt Springs and Newmarket, and in 1838 at Manitowaning. The latter operated until 1864, when it was relocated to Sheguiandah.

The Methodist Church also played an active role in Indian education. In the spring of 1824 it built a church at Davisville, on the Grand River, to serve both as a religious centre and a day school. Twenty children attended classes.

The Roman Catholic Church opened its first permanent school in Ontario in 1842 on Manitoulin Island at Wikwemikong. Charles Lamorandière was the first lay teacher. School records dated 1857 show that the help of Indian teaching assistants was enlisted, mentioning "two assistant teachers, Marie Mishibinishima and Margaret Itawig-yuk". In 1860 a high school was opened, and the following year construction began on a school for girls.

The government of Upper Canada became aware of the support it would have to provide if efforts at educating Indian people were to succeed; by the 1830s it granted financial assistance to various religious orders for the promotion of Indian schooling. In 1845 a government report to the legislative assembly recommended that industrial boarding schools be established. This recommendation was supported by the Anglican bishop of Toronto and the majority of missionaries. Two years later the Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, Dr. Egerton Ryerson, devised a plan for administering such schools.

The policy of industrial boarding schools was to "give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic", and provide instruction in "agriculture, kitchen-gardening and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements". Dr. Ryerson advocated reverent attitudes and religious commitment on the part of students and proposed that the operation of schools be a joint effort involving government and missionary organizations.

Financial grants, reasoned Ryerson, would be provided by government, who would also determine school rules and regulations. The church, in turn, would manage the schools, finance part of the overhead costs and ensure that pupils received religious instruction.

An agreement was reached between government and respective missionary organizations. Funding for the schools was obtained by discontinuing the distribution of certain annual presents made to the Indians (mainly ammunition to the Mississauga and Iroquois). Several bands consented to set aside one quarter of their annuities for the establishment of schools on their reserves.

The first industrial boarding school was erected at Alnwick (Alderville) in 1848 and was attended by children of the Chippewa of lakes Huron and Simcoe, Saugeen and Owen Sound, and of Mississauga of Alnwick and Rice, Mud and Scugog lakes. Children from Garden River also attended.

The Mount Elgin School at Munceytown was completed in 1851 and was attended by children of the Chippewa of St. Clair and Chenail Ecarte, the bands of the Thames River, and the Mississauga of the New Credit.

The schools at Alnwick and Munceytown were placed under the supervision of the Wesleyan Methodist Society. A land allotment of approximately 200 acres was made to each school, thereby providing adequate resources for those seeking instruction in agriculture. The Indian Department agreed to insure the school buildings and make per capita payments to the Society for board, clothing and education of Indian children. These payments amounted to about $64 per child.

The Society furnished the two schools, issued them textbooks and stationery and outfitted each with livestock and farming tools. The Society agreed to pay the salaries of superintendents and teachers. The schools were self-sufficient as far as food went, with all produce cultivated by the students being used to feed them. Agricultural instruction was provided free of charge to any children from the Alnwick or Munceytown reserves.

The Mohawk Institute was rebuilt by the New England Company in 1859. Intensive training was offered in agricultural trades, with both boys and girls enrolling as trainees. In 1869 three girls and two boys were sent from the Institute to Hellmuth College, London, for advanced academic training. Isaac Barefoot, a graduate of the Institute, pursued studies at the Toronto Normal School, later returning to teach at the Institute. He eventually resigned from his teaching position, attended Huron College and was ordained in the Church of England, choosing to work among his own people on the reserve.

The first report on Indian schools after Confederation listed 38 schools in operation and qualified to receive government support. A few teachers were chosen by certain bands, approved by the Indian Department, and paid from band funds. The majority of teachers, however, were paid by the missionary societies of the Church of England and the Methodist Church.

The Shingwauk Home was established at Sault Ste. Marie in 1874 under the charge of the Episcopal Church. An industrial school was established at Wikwemikong, on the north side of Lake Huron under the charge of the Roman Catholic Church the same year.

In 1876 the Department fixed an average attendance for schools on Indian reserves, the teacher to be entitled to his salary only if this average was maintained. The Department advised that Indian schools should be provided with books, maps and other resource material and that prizes should be presented to pupils periodically for regular attendance and proficiency in studies. An appropriation of $3 000 was made for bands which had insufficient funds to meet the extra expense.

Several new schools were authorized in 1878, the Department granting $100 to each school, and the band contributing the same towards the teacher's salary. New school houses were built on reserves, sometimes totally from band funds, and occasionally with a partial grant from the Indian Department. The Six Nations schools were almost entirely sustained by the New England Company and the Wesleyan Methodist Society.

The Wa-wa-nosh Home, an industrial school for Indian girls, was built at Sault Ste. Marie near the Shingwauk Home in 1878. The latter then became an all-boys school. The Department made annual payments of $40 per capita to the Wa-wa-nosh Home for the education of 15 girls.

By 1885 there were 69 Indian schools in Ontario. School curricula had been expanded from core courses in industrial trades to include academic subjects. In 1892 an order-in-council set out regulations for the operation of residential and industrial schools. School buildings were to be the joint responsibility of church and government. Books and educational supplies were to be provided for by appropriations, whereas maintenance, salaries and other operational expenses were to be paid by the church. The government provided financial assistance by way of per capita grants. The amount granted was fixed in relation to the requirements of the respective schools. The order-in-council remained in effect until 1957, when the per capita grant system was replaced by a controlled cost system. The Department provided reimbursement for actual expenditures, within defined limits.

Shortly after the signing of Treaty No. 9 in 1905, three residential schools were established in northern Ontario. Schools at Moose Factory and Chapleau were under the auspices of the Church of England, while the Roman Catholic mission at Albany doubled as a school. Most of the early teaching was conducted in Cree, the native language of the northern Indian bands. Cree syllabics, a form of written communication pioneered by John Evans, was used in the classroom.

In 1911 a new financial arrangement was agreed upon by the Department and the different denominations in charge of residential schools in Ontario. The then customary grant of $72 per annum per capita and the small grant for buildings were found to be inadequate as maintenance costs increased. It was therefore concluded that residential schools were to receive per annum per capita payments varying between $80 and $100. Residential schools such as those at Albany and Moose Factory, located some 200 miles from a railway, were to receive per capita grants of $125 per annum.

In 1913 the Department initiated the practice of providing six scholarships at the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph to promising high school graduates from reserves. The scholarships included the full cost of tuition fees and lodgings during the two-year course.

Over the years continual efforts were made to improve the caliber of education. Under arrangements with the Provincial Department of Education, Indian schools were inspected semi-annually by provincial and independent school inspectors. New buildings were erected and existing ones refurbished. In 1920 the Indian Act was amended to provide for compulsory education for all Indian children between seven and fifteen years of age. Enrolment increased in both day schools and residential schools. In 1923 the Department further expanded the scope of schooling, constructing several new schools on Indian land.

In 1948 the policy of intergrating Indian with non-Indian pupils in shared learning experiences was adopted. This practice paved the way for cross-cultural education and for the eventual training of Indian pupils in traditionally non-Indian schools.

Election of school committees, composed of Indian band members, to assist in the administration of school affairs on their reserves was introduced in 1957. Committees such as these did much to stimulate community interest and participation in the education of their children. During the same year, a system of scholarships was introduced to provide an incentive to Indian students. Scholarships were awarded to students on a regional basis for university, technical and agricultural courses, for teacher training, nursing, social work and art.

Adult education in Ontario found its origins during the years following the Second World War. In 1946 a joint committee of the Senate and the House of Commons reported on Indian welfare, advocating the provision of adequate educational opportunities for Indian veterans and other community adults. A four-point program was initiated during the following years. It proposed to increase language skills; further educate those with a limited education; provide vocational courses to better equip those seeking to participate in a wage economy; and to provide community improvement programs that would stimulate community government.

In 1958 the policy was expanded to include upgrading programs for out-of-school adolescents and unmarried adults between 16 and 25 years of age, to prepare them for entrance exams to vocational schools and for eventual off-reserve employment.

Colonial Administration of Indian Affairs

The French Period

During the French regime in Canada, Indian affairs were of vital concern to the colonial authorities. Throughout the era the Indians supplied furs to traders and provided the French with both allies and potential enemies in the long series of conflicts with the British for political control of eastern North America. The economy and day-to-day existence of the colony, therefore, was dependent upon the native population. Control of relations with the Indians was vested with the colonial governor, who delegated responsibility for particular aspects of Indian affairs to specific persons or groups.

In general, French Indian policy concerned itself with three major aspects of Indian affairs – the fur trade, warfare, and conversion. To deal with these, the governor called upon the assistance of the fur trading merchants, the coureur de bois, the commanders of the French forts and the clergy. Ultimate control, however, always remained centralized with the governor. All concerned were required to report to him. Inasmuch as the governor was the direct representative of the French king, Indian affairs in Canada can be said to have been ultimately a matter of royal responsibility. As sovereign, the king also was considered to possess the lands of New France. No recognition of Indian land ownership was granted during the French regime. Rather, it was held by the French crown on the grounds of discovery and conquest. Indians did, however, come to possess pockets of land during the French period and several of these tracts were occupied by bands who were actually immigrants to Canada.

The story of the French-Huron relations is a well-known story. Less well-known is the story of the Iroquois villages in the St. Lawrence valley.

The long struggle between the French and the Iroquois Confederacy which occurred during the 17th century was broken by periods of peace. During these times, French Jesuits visited the Iroquois, converting some of their number. Some of these Christian Iroquois migrated to Canada, ultimately leading to the establishment of four Iroquois settlements at Caughnawaga, Oka, St. Regis and Oswegatchie. The latter two, founded in the 1750s, existed on lands which would later become the province of Ontario. These villages were placed under the control of the Jesuits, Sulpicians and Recollets. Each order, in turn, was granted ownership of the land surrounding the village.

Algonkian villages were established in a similar fashion at Becancour, Restigouche and Sillery, as was a Huron village at Lorette. These villages were more than places of residence. The policy was that such settlements would provide the impetus for Indians to adopt both Christianity and the civilized agricultural way of life of the French. These early villages, dating back as far as 1637 (Sillery), were therefore the first "reserve" in Canada.

The Indians from these villages could usually be expected to support the French in the event of war with the British, the British colonies and Indian allies of the Crown. To win the favour of other tribes, especially those of the Ohio valley, the Governor of New France relied on the close relations between them and the French commanders, traders and missionaries. He also supervised the extensive distribution of presents to the Indians. Items like blankets, kettles, rations and firearms were given as an inducement to Indians to ally themselves with the French. On the whole, the program was quite successful, as the French could usually secure strong Indian upport when war broke out. Indeed, their success had much to do with the French ability to hold on to Canada for such a long time.

The French regime was finally brought to a close during the Seven Years War (1756-1763). In surrendering Canada to the British, the French made some effort to provide security for their Indian allies, especially those who were resident on the St. Lawrence River. Article 40 of the Capitulation of Montreal in 1760 best illustrates this effort.

". . . The Indian Allies of His Most Christian Majesty shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they choose to reside there; they shall not be molested on any pretense whatsoever, for having carried arms and served His Most Christian Majesty; they shall have liberty of religion and shall keep their missionaries . . ."

The British Period

The British approach to Indian affairs differed from that of the French in two ways: They recognized Indian title to land, and they had a special branch charged with the task of handling Indian affairs.

The first land cession agreements appear to have been made because entreating with the native population was the least difficult way to obtain land for development and settlement. There was a general desire to avoid war, as a 1670 Proclamation demonstrates.

". . . Forasmuch as most of our Colonies do border upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are in Our Name to command all Governors that they at no time give any just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us . . ."

The concept was expanded over the years as often as treaties were concluded and promises made to win Indian friendship, until it was formalized by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The Royal Proclamation is considered by many historians to be the most important single document in Canadian Indian history. Through it, the British Crown recognized the right of native people to hold the land which they occupied. Non-Natives were forbidden to move into the Indian Territory which consisted, in general terms, of all land between the Appalachian highlands and the Mississippi River. The purchasing of any of that territory was expressly forbidden. It also provided that if sales were to occur, only the Crown was entitled to make the purchase. There were some exceptions to the boundaries of the Indian Territory, and one of these pertained to Canada. The northern limit of the Indian Territory was the arctic watershed, where the charter lands of the Hudson's Bay Company began. Exempted from the rules of the Proclamation was the region of the ancient French settlement on the St. Lawrence. Because the western extremity of the exempted region was a line drawn from Lake Nipissing, it included the Ottawa valley, and thus a portion of future Ontario. Through this exemption, the British acceded to the former French position in connnection with aboriginal ownership as it pertained to the southern portion of the future province of Quebec.

To implement the terms of the Royal Proclamation, Britain looked to its Indian Branch, which was created in 1755. Before then, each of the English colonies had handled its own relations with the Indians. Because of rivalries, however, the colonies were often in conflict. In order to conduct a uniform policy throughout the British empire in America, and in hopes of matching the French successes, it was decided to funnel Indian affairs into the hands of one department. Sir William Johnson, experienced in Indian relations in the colony of New York, was placed in charge of the northern superintendency of the new branch.

At this point in colonial occupation, and throughout the conquest of Canada, the American Revolution and the War of 1812, the sole concern of Britain towards Indians was that of winning them to the British standard in times of war and maintaining their friendship in times of peace. When war developed, the agents of the branch would lead or organize war parties and encourage the bands and tribes to take up arms against Britain's enemies. In both peace and war these men, chosen because of their experience in forest diplomacy, would make use of

various methods to promote the military goals. As with their French predecessors, tactics included the distribution of presents, the issuing of rations and the supervision of Indian councils. In the course of the 75 years that the formal policy of wooing warriors was paramount, the Indian Branch proved its usefulness in several open conflicts against the French (1756-63), the American colonies (1775-83) and the United States (1812-15). During that time, of course, the branch was reduced greatly. The success of the American Revolution removed 13 American colonies from British jurisdiction and confined the branch's activities to the region of Southern Ontario and Southern Quebec. As the years passed, and as the non-Native population grew, the position of the Indians in Canada changed dramatically. They became less of a potential threat and assumed a lower profile in open war. This process was completed by about the end of the War of 1812, at which time the connection between the Indians of Ontario and those of the United States was virtually eliminated.

A growing non-Native population also brought newcomers and Indians into more constant contact. This had two effects. First, it resulted in conflict, particularly when the two desired access to particular spots such as fishing places. Second, advancing settlement had a bad effect on the supply of game with which the Indians supported their traditional way of life. More and more, officials in the Indian branch were working not towards the military goals that had been established in 1755, but were involved in settling disputes between Indians and non-Natives, or in assisting bands that were destitute. Many officials in the branch and in higher levels of government came to feel the Indians should be helped to make the transition from a hunting and trapping economy to a lifestyle based on agriculture. One such person was Lieutenant-Governor Maitland, who sponsored an experiment in the 1820s among the Credit River Mississauga. A permanent village was begun, houses were built, missionaries preached Christianity and instructors taught farming methods. Observers commented favourably on the progress of this village.

Based on this experiment and on the views of officials, including Colonial Secretary George Murray, the Maitland experiment was expanded. In 1830, the British government officially adopted a new policy towards Indians. Special tracts of land, known as reserves, were set aside exclusively for Indian use. On these reserves, the Indians were encouraged to settle in permanent villages and adopt an agricultural way of life. Teachers, missionaries and farm instructors were to live among them to provide assistance and instruction. It was hoped, and expected, that Indians would abandon their former ways and adopt the Christian religion and the farming pursuits of the non-Native newcomers. It was a policy that had essentially been put into effect by the French in the 17th century and continued in varying degrees at the permanent Indian villages created during the French regime at such places as Lorette, Sillery, Becancour, Caughnawaga, Oka and St. Regis. There, however, the task had been left largely to the religious orders. In Upper Canada after 1830, the job was given to the Indian Branch.

To facilitate that change, the Indian Branch was transferred from military to civil control and divided between Upper and Lower Canada. The Indian Branch was united again in 1841 when the Act of Union joined the two provinces. In 1860, the Imperial Government of Great Britain gave up its control of Indian affairs by transferring responsibility to the Government of Canada. Seven years later, Indian affairs became a responsibility of the newly created federal government of Canada.

Spanning these changes in policy and administration was the process of the alienation of Indian lands. As already observed, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 recognized the importance of this issue and outlined the concern that the British crown had for the protection of Indian interests in that regard. With respect to the future province of Ontario, the land provisions of the Royal Proclamation created no difficulty. The entire region was clearly Indian country at the time. Few non-Indians lived there, and there appeared to be no desire among them to alter that status. South of the Great Lakes, however, the American colonies found these provisions to be repugnant. In New York, Pennsylvania and Virgina there was a desire to extend settlement beyond the Appalachian frontier, and thus the Proclamation was held to be a grievance. There were other grievances in the minds of the American colonists, and ultimately these led to the American Revolution.

The success of the American colonists in their fight for independence had profound effects on Canada. In particular, two substantial groups of loyalists, Indian and non-Indian, who were forced to leave their homes in the old colonies, came to Canada. If these newcomers were to settle in the lands west of the Ottawa River, British authorities would be required to make arrangements with the Indians already living there. The British Crown claimed sovereignty over the territory, but its own rules had, in 1763, accorded the right of occupancy – and protection for that occupancy – to the Indians of the region. This meant that distinct sections of Ontario were considered to belong to specific tribes of Indians. The Ottawa valley, which lay outside the Proclamation area, was Algonkian; the upper St. Lawrence was controlled by the Iroquois; and the north shore of Lake Ontario was Mississauga country. Mississauga influence also extended along the north shore of Lake Erie, but in the western end of the province were Wyandot, Delaware and Potowatomi, all of whom had liaison with the Indians of Michigan, Illinois and Indiana. The Chippewa, who were related to the Mississauga, were also to be found in the Thames valley, but their main lands were located around Lake Simcoe, Georgian Bay and the north shore of Lake Huron. The Ottawa also traversed the north shore of Lake Huron and were considered the owners of Manitoulin Island.

The first to be approached were the Mississauga and the Iroquois. The initial sale of Indian lands to the Crown in Canada took place in 1764 when Sir William Johnson acquired a strip of land along the Niagara River from the Seneca. There is some confusion as to whether or not this strip included both sides of the river or just the east bank. In any event, the Mississauga were not included in that agreement. When Governor Haldimand wished to plan a military settlement on the west bank during the American Revolution, he ordered Colonel Guy Johnson, the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to satisfy the demands of the Mississauga who claimed possession of the west bank. It was done in 1781 when the Crown paid 300 suits of clothing for a four-mile strip along the Niagara River's west bank between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

It was also to the Mississauga that the British looked to acquire the first land cession of the post-war period. Two large areas were involved. During the war, two groups of Iroquois had supported the British and, as a result, were effectively barred from returning to their long-standing locations. One was a group of Mohawk Indians led by John Deseronto; the other a larger group of Mohawk Indians together with members of the Six Nations Confederacy, and some allied Indians who were led by Joseph Brant. To compensate for their losses, Governor Haldimand offered both groups asylum in Canada. He ordered that lands be purchased from the Mississauga in the region of the Bay of Quinte. The Mississauga were agreeable and the purchase was made in 1783-84 by Captain W.R. Crawford.

John Deseronto and his Mohawk following moved into the region in 1784. They were ultimately granted 70 000 acres in what became Tyendinaga Township. The area purchased by Crawford extended from the Gananoque River to the Trent River. At the same time, he bought the land between the Gananoque River and Toniato Creek (near present Brockville) from an Iroquois chief from the Village of Oka. Joseph Brant, however, chose not to accept land in that area. He selected the Grand River valley for his larger band of several thousand. In the meantime, it was decided to permit the loyalist Indians to settle on the Upper St. Lawrence, and loyalist settlements were begun in the Cataraqui district. To complete a continuous line of settlement, arrangements were made in 1784 with two Iroquois bands – the Onondaga of Oswegatchie and the Mohawk of St. Regis – for the lands of the St. Lawrence between Brockville and Point Baudet (near Cornwall).

Joseph Brant's preference for the Grand River required another purchase. It was made in 1784 when the Mississauga sold a tract between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie acres in return for 1 180 pounds 7 shillings 4 pence worth of trade goods. Out of this territory, Brant's loyalist Indians were granted a tract of land six miles wide on each side of the Grand River from mouth to source. The tract contained about 500 000 acres. The Six Nations, both at Tyendinaga, and the Grand River, held their lands on terms different than those of other Ontario tribes. Rather than rest their claims on the Royal Proclamation, the Six Nations cited the Haldimand grant in 1784 as their right of ownership. When it was discovered that the territorial description of these grants did not conform to the actual geography, new patents were issued in 1793 by the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe.

These patents contained the provision that, like Indian lands elsewhere in the Proclamation area, Indian-owned lands could not be sold by the Indians except to the Crown. Chief Joseph Brant objected to that qualification, and argued the Six Nations, as allies of the Crown, had been given the grant outright and could dispose of it as they wished. Arguing that the sale or lease of their lands would provide a supplementary income to the Six Nations, Brant entered into agreements with non-Indian individuals for the disposal of over half the land in the tract. This quarrel went on for many years, and in the end the Six Nations Indians of the Grand River disposed of 356 000 acres of their land in defiance of the Crown.

The land cessions of 1783 and 1784 satisfied the immediate requirements of the Crown in order to provide for the dislocated Indian and white loyalists. Once the first breach was made in the Indian territory, however, there was no hope that Indian lands could be kept exclusively for the use of Indians. Southern Ontario was destined to be shared by Indians and newcomers alike. While the Indian population remained static, the non-Indian population continued to grow. Thus the Crown, through the government in Canada, continued to make demands on the Indians for the sale of their lands in order to accommodate new settlers, build military establishments for the protection of settlers, or simply secure continuous lines of settlement along the waterfront in anticipation of future immigration. And in peaceful fashion, the various bands agreed to meet the demands of the government by disposing of their land.

In 1787-88, the Mississauga sold the north shore of Lake Ontario between the Bay of Quinte and Toronto. Two years later, the Ottawa, Huron (Wyandot), Chippewa and Potowatomi of the Thames Valley sold the western end of the province between Lake Erie and the Thames River for 1 200 pounds worth of trade goods. In 1796 the Chippewa sold the township of London and the township of Sombra. Through other agreements, the Crown acquired Penetanguishene Harbour (1798), the Island of St. Joseph (1798) the head of Lake Ontario (1798 and 1806) and site of Toronto (1806).

All of these early land cession agreements had similarities. First, the payment was made in the form of trade goods. These were considered more useful than money and included such items as hatchets, scissors, knives, kettles, blankets, various cloths (linen, calicoe, etc.,) and guns and ammunition. Also, the agreements were simple transactions involving a single, one-time only payment. No mention was made of annuities or hunting and fishing rights in the written agreements, although the latter was often considered in the negotiations that preceded the actual agreement. One exception was the 1806 Toronto Purchase in which the Indians reserved for themselves the fishery at the mouth of the Etobicoke River. There were no provisions for Indian reserves. Certain exceptions might include the 1806 agreement regarding the head of Lake Ontario and the 1790 Thames River sale. In the former the Mississauga did retain for their use small plots at the mouths of Twelve Mile Creek, Sixteen Mile Creek and the Credit River in order to ensure control of the fisheries there. These, however, were sold in 1820. The 1790 agreement also reserved for Indian use the lands known as the Huron Reserve and the Huron Church Reserve. These two were sold in subsequent agreements. In neither case, however, were the reserves involved the same as the types of reserves later established to promote assimilation.

Following the War of 1812, the non-Indian population of Upper Canada grew from about 80 000 in 1812 to about 250 000 in 1830. To accommodate newcomers, the government placed new demands on unceded Indian lands. Once again the Indians complied. Between 1818 and 1827, seven substantial land cession agreements saw the government acquire what may be called a second line of settlement behind all the waterfront agreements just before the War of 1812. In general terms, these lands included the territory from the Ottawa River running across the province by way of Arnprior, Peterborough, Barrie, Brampton and Goderich on Lake Huron.

The main difference between these and prior arrangements concerned the methods of payment. As noted, concern had arisen regarding the Indians' ability to survive in a society that was changing. The most serious attempts to promote culture change on reserves were yet to come, but some beginnings were made. To supplement early agriculture and also the traditional pursuits of hunting and fishing, it was considered wise to ensure an annual income to those bands who made these surrenders. Thus the treaty with the Mississauga, who sold the land behind Kingston and Belleville in 1822, provided that every man, woman and child of the band was to receive a perpetual annuity of 2 shillings 10 pence. Likewise, the Chippewa who gave up the region on Lake Huron between approximately Goderich and Sarnia in 1827 were to receive an annual payment of 1 100 pounds in goods.

The final series of Indian land sale agreements involved the northern and western regions of the province. Two significant ones were concluded by Lieutenant-Governor Francis Bond Head in 1836. In one the Chippewa of the Bruce Peninsula agreed to give the Crown any land they possessed on Lake Huron, south of the Saugeen River, and extending inland from Lake Huron to a depth of four townships. In return, they would have the land on the Bruce Peninsula north of the Saugeen River set aside for their use. Subsequent sales, especially those of 1851, 1854 and 1861 deprived the Chippewa and the immigrant Potowatomi who had joined them of most of the peninsula. Only a few bands, such as the Cape Croker, Chiefs Point and Saugeen reserves, survived.

Bond Head also made an agreement with the Ottawa and Chippewa who claimed Manitoulin Island. They gave the island to the Crown on the condition that it might be used for any Indians of the province who wished to settle there. Bond Head hoped that that would attract most of the Indians of the province, thereby freeing other lands for non-Indian settlement. The government opened an establishment on the island in 1838. It was designated as an official reserve and a distribution point for the annual presents. Assistance was promised to Indians who would agree to move to the new location. But not many Indians came. In 1844 the total Indian population was 702 and in 1856 it was 1 226. Non-Indians, however, appeared more interested in the island than the Indian inhabitants. In 1862, therefore, five reserves were set aside and the bulk of the island was subsequently sold to settlers. The proceeds from these sales were to be held in trust for the Indians, with accrued interest to be paid to individuals annually. The 1862 treaty covered only a portion of the island west of a line between the head of South Bay and the head of Manitowaning Bay, for the Indians refused to cede the eastern portion. It remains an Indian reserve, with its centre at Wikwemikong.

When mineral deposits were discovered on the northern shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, the government determined that these areas should be purchased from the local Chippewa in order that the region could be exploited. The government commissioner assigned was William Benjamin Robinson, and in 1850 he concluded two land sale agreements which have become popularly known as the Robinson Treaties. Some 2 662 Indians and 52 400 square miles of land were involved. The Robinson-Huron Treaty included the shoreline of Lake Huron from Matchedash Bay to Batchewana Bay in Lake Superior. The Robinson-Superior Treaty secured the Lake Superior shore from Batchewana Bay to the Pigeon River. In each, the area ceded included the island in the lake and ran back from the shoreline to the height of land. Both of these agreements called for a substantial number of Indian reserves, a one-time payment of about 2 000 pounds, and an annuity of $4 per person. Both also secured the right for Indians to continue to hunt and fish throughout the ceded area.

A portion of the Robinson-Huron land surrender was improperly sold. This was the 1 000 square miles of land between Matchedash Bay and the French River. Likewise, it was observed that part of the 1787-88 agreements, involving land between the Trent River and the Etobicoke River on Lake Ontario, and another tract south of Lake Simcoe, had also been improperly documented and described. In addition, a large portion of central Ontario between the disputed area of the Robinson-Huron cession and the Ottawa River remained unceded. Yet all these areas were opened to settlement and surveys already begun. In order to acquire the unsold region, and rectify the irregularities concerning the other three tracts of land, the Government of Canada concluded two new agreements in 1923, known as the Williams Treaties.

The Canadian West was acquired by the Government of Canada after Confederation. In opening the region to settlement the government concluded several land cession agreements with the western and northern tribes. Known as the numbered treaties, these mainly concerned the western provinces but three of them involved lands in Ontario.

The first of the numbered treaties made with the Indians of Ontario was the Northwest Angle Treaty, or Treaty No. 3. This treaty was concluded on October 3, 1873 with the Saulteaux (Ojibwa) who ceded 55 000 square miles of land to the Crown. Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris officiated at the Treaty No. 3 negotiations, whereby safe passage for immigrants travelling between Ontario and Manitoba was secured. Often referred to as the Lake of the Woods link, the territory ceded under Treaty No. 3 provided access to the west, facilitating expansion and further development. The 1873 Treaty No. 5 made with the Saulteaux and Cree covered a large area of Manitoba, but it also included a triangle of northwestern Ontario at the 52nd parallel of latitude. In 1905 the James Bay Treaty, or Treaty No. 9, was concluded with the Cree occupying northern Ontario and encompassed a vast land tract between the Albany River and the Robinson Treaties territory and the Treaty No. 3 area. The area ceded is estimated to have been 90 000 square miles. In 1929, adhesions to Treaty No. 9 completed its coverage in northern Ontario.

Reserves

As observed, the land cession agreements before 1830 rarely contained provisions for reserved lands. There were exceptions, however, and in other cases lands were nevertheless set apart by government. In some instances the recipients were actually United States immigrants to Upper Canada. Also, these lands have been encroached upon to some extent by non-Indians. Allowances for roads, highways and hydro lines were the most common type of encroachment, but these were mostly taken in the post-Confederation era. Earlier, however, lands were purchased from reserves for simple purposes of settlement or to gain access to specific resources on the reserves. Later would be the 1820 agreements which acquired the fisheries of the Credit River, Sixteen Mile Creek and Twelve Mile Creek for the Crown exemplify this. Other agreements illustrate these trends further.

The earliest settlement in present Ontario that can be called an Indian reserve was that granted to the Moravians in 1793 and confirmed in 1798. Under the guidance of Moravian missionaries, a band of Delaware had moved west to the Ohio Valley, and after persecution there sought refuge in Upper Canada. Originally their grant contained 50 000 acres on the Thames River where they built the permanent village of Fairfield. It was near this village that the advancing American army routed General Henry Proctor and killed the Shawnee chief Tecumseh in October, 1813. The Moravian village was destroyed during the War of 1812, but rebuilt close by as New Fairfield. In 1836, Sir Francis Bond Head arranged for the sale of about half their tract for an annuity of 600 pounds. The band was subsequently beset with other troubles. Many returned to the United States. Those who remained, numbering 246, sold all but the village site in 1857.

The Moravian Delaware were joined on the Thames River by three other groups of American immigrants. In 1800 a band of Muncey (Delaware) settled in the tract on the Thames claimed by the Chippewa. When the Chippewa sold their Thames River tract of some 552 000 acres in 1819 for an annuity of 600 pounds, a reserve of some 15 000 acres was set apart for them at Caradoc. The Muncey did not share in the annuity, however, and found themselves restricted to a small area of about a mile square on the river. Another group to arrive was a band of 436 Oneida who entered Canada in 1840. With money they brought with them they purchased 5 400 acres on the Thames River, just opposite the Chippewa reserve at Caradoc.

Potowatomi bands entered Canada in the 1830's. Most did so to seek refuge from the American Government's demands that they move westward to the Mississippi. Some of these bands found their way to the Saugeen Peninsula, where they became involved in the land cession agreements of the 1850's. One group settled on Walpole Island in 1841. By 1856, this group numbered 313.

The Potowatomi were not, however, the only tribe to occupy Walpole Island. Bands of Chippewa congregated there in 1831. During the 1830's other Chippewa bands from Point Pelee joined their fellow tribesmen on Walpole Island. In 1849 several Chippewa bands relocated to Walpole Island from Anderson. By 1856, the Chippewa population of the island was 442.

Because of its location, Walpole Island became a centre of activity and cultural exchange for Chippewa bands occupying nearby reserves. Four such reserves were at Sarnia, Kettle Point, Rivière aux Sables and Moore township. These reserves had been set aside when the Huron land tract was sold in 1827.

In 1830 three separate bands of Chippewa from the Lake Simcoe region and led by Chief Yellowhead, Chief John Aisence and Chief Snake, were settled on a new reserve created for their use. It was here on the Coldwater and Narrows reserve that the first experiment in exposing Indians to a radically altered lifestyle was put into effect. After six years of guidance under the superintendency of Thomas G. Anderson, the authorities considered these bands to have progressed sufficiently and were given charge of their own affairs. By the end of 1837, however, the three bands had sold their reserve and dispersed. With the proceeds of the sale they divided into three camps and purchased reserves at Rama, Snake Island and Beausoleil Island. Beausoleil Island was sold in 1856 and the Indian population subsequently relocated to the Christian Islands.

In the eastern end of the province, reserves were also set apart for the Mississauga. And here too there was some movement among locations. The Credit River Mississauga ultimately sold all of their holdings and accepted a corner of the Six Nations lands on the Grand River. Known as the New Credit Reserve in Tuscarora township, it was occupied by the Credit River Band in 1847. The Rice Lake reserve was created in 1834 when 1 120 acres were granted to trustees for the "benefit of the Indian Tribes of the Province, and with a view to their conversion and civilization"; the Mud Lake (Chemong Lake) Mississauga also received land, about 1 600 acres, given in trust for them to the New England Company in 1837. The Lake Scugog Mississauga came to occupy a reserve o 600 acres on the shores of Lake Scugog in Cartwright townships. They purchased this acreage with money they received from the sale of their former reserve on Balsalm Lake.

Towards Confederation

Prior to Confederation, the Indians of Ontario sold their traditional lands to the Crown in a variety of ways. After 1867, Treaty Nos. 3, 5 and 9 and the Williams Treaties completed the process. In return, the Indians received payment either in the form of annuities or single payments. Individual bands were directed towards specific pieces of reserved lands that were allocated to them by special grants, by purchase or by reservation clauses in the land sale agreements. The *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, published in 1912 as an Appendix to the 1912 Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, listed over 150 reserve locations in Ontario. Of these, about 60 were established before Confederation. These developments and the changing status of the Indians of Ontario were reflected in the changes made in the tasks assigned to the Indian Department and in the regulations and legislation concerning Indian affairs.

Indian presents, distributed on an annual basis, had been initiated as a means to compete with the French in forest diplomacy. These were continued after the conquest for the same purpose. But after 1815, the necessity of continuing this practice was questioned by the British Treasury, which was anxious to reduce expenses. The presents were not eliminated immediately, but their nature was changed. They became a means of promoting acculturation and reducing destitution among Indians. The former was accomplished by changing some of the presents from the traditional trade goods to more functional items such as tools and livestock. In 1839 and 1841 it was announced that presents would no longer be issued to Indians who visited Canada for that purpose from the United States. Resident Indians continued to enjoy the annual bounty for some time, but here too the gifts were gradually reduced, until the practice was ended in 1858.

The growing non-Indian population placed increased pressures on Indian lands, and even on the small pockets of reserved lands. Most of the Tyendinaga township reserve of the Quinte Mohawk was secured by settlers through sales to the Crown, and all but 50 000 acres of the Six Nations of the Grand River Band's land was ultimately settled by non-Indians. Other reserves were reduced by formal agreements. In addition, the problem of non-Indian encroachments without the sanction of sales to government created racial problems. And this began quite early. In 1797 Peter Russell, as Administrator of the Province of Upper Canada, was required to issue a proclamation forbidding non-Indians to use Indian land. Such proclamations were later reinforced by official investigations and subsequently by formal statutes of the legislature. One example was the 1889 *Act for the protection of the Lands of the Crown*. This empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to authorize investigation into complaints by the Indians against persons who moved onto Indian lands. Other legislation, such as *An Act to prevent the sale of Spirituous Liquors to Indians*, passed in 1840, was designed to protect Indians from non-Indians who might take advantage of them.

The legislation in this regard became more specific and more precise. It included a definition of the term "Indian" in 1850 and 1857, and provided for a system of enfranchisement in the *Civilization and Enfranchisement Act* of 1859-60. In general, it can be observed that this legislation began setting principles and authorizing mechanisms which promoted two goals: the protection of Indians in their land and the growth of civilization among Indians.

In this respect the long road from the first creation of the Indian branch in 1755 had turned a full circle. At that time the British had been anxious to secure the services of Indian people who in fact acted independently and who were a considerable force in the circumstances of the day. By the 1860s that independence and power had effectively disappeared. The Indians of Ontario had thus been rendered dependent upon the government for protection. And they had also become the object of legislation which was leading towards control of their lives and societies. That control would, in turn, be legislated shortly after Confederation by The First Federal Indian Act, passed in 1868.

Indian Treaties
1850 — 1923

Early during the settlement of North America, the British sovereign recognized, as a matter of policy, an Indian interest in the lands occupied by the various native tribes. Such an interest could only be extinguished by mutual agreement between the Indian people and the Crown. This policy gave rise to the practice of making agreements, or treaties, as they were later called, with the Indians. Treaty-making began in British colonial times in what is now the United States and was afterwards introduced into Canada.

As settlement burgeoned in Upper Canada after the American War of Independence (1775-1783), land cession treaties were made with the Indian people for the surrender of their interest in the land. At first the returns were once-for-all cash payments only. In later surrenders, however, the Crown undertook to set aside reserves, annuities and other considerations for the benefit of Indian people.

In 1850 the Hon. William B. Robinson of Toronto concluded treaties with the Ojibwa occupying the north shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, covering twice as much land as in all the previous surrenders in Upper Canada. He is credited by Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris of Manitoba and the North-West Territories with establishing the sophisticated "treaty" method adopted in all subsequent "title surrenders".

Outlined on the following pages are eight of the more noted treaties conducted in Ontario. These land cession agreements, together with some 50 additional treaty exercises (the first being concluded in 1764) span a century and a half of the territorial evolution of Ontario.

Robinson Superior

Lake Superior
September 7, 1850
Ojibeway

Indian Promises
To surrender, cede, grant and convey specified lands to the Crown forever; not to hinder or prevent exploration or searching for mineral or other valuable productions in ceded area; not to sell, lease or dispose of any portion of reserve unless Superintendent-General consents; not to dispose of reserve minerals or other valuable production unless Superintendent-General consents.

Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide the sum of 2 000 pounds to Indian signators; grant proceeds from sales by Province to Indians; sell reserve resources for sole benefit of the Indians at their request.

Recurring Expenditures
Provide $4 per Indian (annuities such as this were introduced some time after the signing of the treaty).

Ceded Lands
Permit hunting and fishing, except on tracts sold or leased to people, and occupied by them, with the consent of the Provincial Government.

Robinson Huron

Lake Huron
September 9, 1850
Ojibeway

Indian Promises
Same promises as made for Robinson Superior Treaty.

Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide the sum of 2 160 pounds to Indian signators; grant proceeds from sales by Province to Indians; sell reserve resources for sole benefit of the Indians at their request.

Recurring Expenditures
Provide $4 per Indian.

Ceded Lands
Same stipulations as for Robinson Superior Treaty.

Manitoulin Island

Great Manitoulin Island
October 6, 1862
Ottawa and Chippewa

Indian Promises
To release, surrender and give up specified lands to the Crown forever.

Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide the sum of $700 to Indian signators; grant 100 acres of land per family, 50 acres for single persons over 21, or single orphans under 21.

Recurring Expenditures
Annual per capita interest payment from proceeds of land sales; two portions to each chief.

Ceded Lands
Grant same fishing rights to Indians as to non-Indians.

Treaty No. 3

North-West Angle
October 3, 1873
Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibeway

Indian Promises
To cede, release, surrender and yield up specified lands to the Crown forever; to transfer and relinquish these lands; to observe the treaty; maintain peace; not to molest persons or property; to assist in bringing Indian offenders to justice.

Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide $3 to each Indian; farm stock and equipment; a buggy to each chief and headman, except to those of Yellow Quill's band; 160 acres of land per family of five; an additional 25 square mile tract to Yellow Quill's reserve; deal with intruders.

Recurring Expenditures
By census — $25 per chief and $5 per Indian; $15 per headman in accordance with an Order in Council passed in 1876; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; maintain a school on each reserve at the people's request; prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Ceded Lands
Not "sell, lease or dispose" of reserve lands without Indian consent; compensate for Indian reserve lands taken for public works; deal with intruders; hunting and fishing permitted on ceded lands, except on tracts taken up for mining, lumbering, settlement or other purposes; hunting and fishing subject to Federal "regulations".

Treaty No. 5

Lake Winnipeg
September 20, and September 24, 1875 (Adhesions made in 1908-9-10)
Saulteaux and Swampy Cree

Indian Promises
Same promises as made for Treaty No. 3.

Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide $5 to each Indian; tools; farm stock and equipment; flag and medal for each chief; $500 moving costs for the Saulteaux of Saskatchewan River; 160 acres of land per family of five; 100 acres per family of five at Fisher River.

Recurring Expenditures
By census — $25 per chief, $15 per headman and $5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; $500 a year for ammunition and twine (an additional proportionate grant made in the 1980-9-10 Adhesions); maintain a school on each reserve when advisable and at the people's request. Prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Ceded Lands
Same stipulations as for Treaty No. 3, with the exception of land entitlement.

Treaty No. 9

James Bay
July 12, 1905
(Adhesions made in 1929-30)
Cree and Ojibeway

Indian Promises
To cede, release, surrender and yield up specified lands to the crown forever; to observe treaty; maintain peace; not to molest persons or property; to assist in bringing Indian offenders to justice; not to sell or alienate reserve lands.

Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide $8 per Indian; a flag, a copy of the treaty to each chief; 1 square mile of land per family of five (land grant free from Provincial liens, trusts and claims); not sell or alienate reserve lands unless Indians consent; compensation for reserve lands taken for public works in equivalent land or money; deal with intruders.

Recurring Expenditures
Provide $4 per family to head of family; pay salaries of teachers, cost of buildings and educational equipment, as deemed advisable.

Ceded Lands
Permit hunting, fishing and trapping, except on tracts taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes, and subject to federal "regulations".

Williams

Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay
October 31, 1923
Chippewa of Christian and Georgina Islands, Rama

Indian Promises
To cede, release, surrender and yield up specified lands to the crown forever; to observe treaty and law; maintain peace and order; not to molest persons or property; to assist in bringing Indian offenders to justice.

Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide $25 per Indian; $233,375 to be administered by the Department of Indian Affairs.

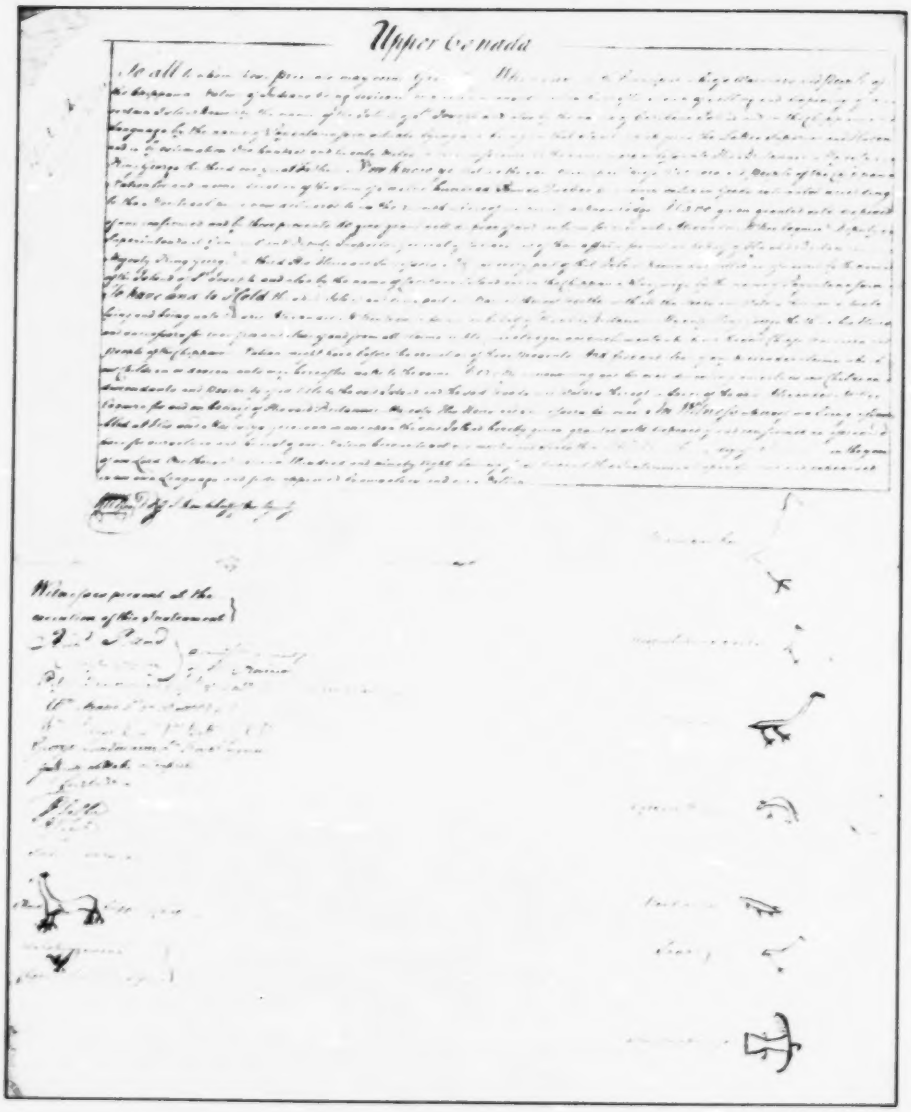
Williams

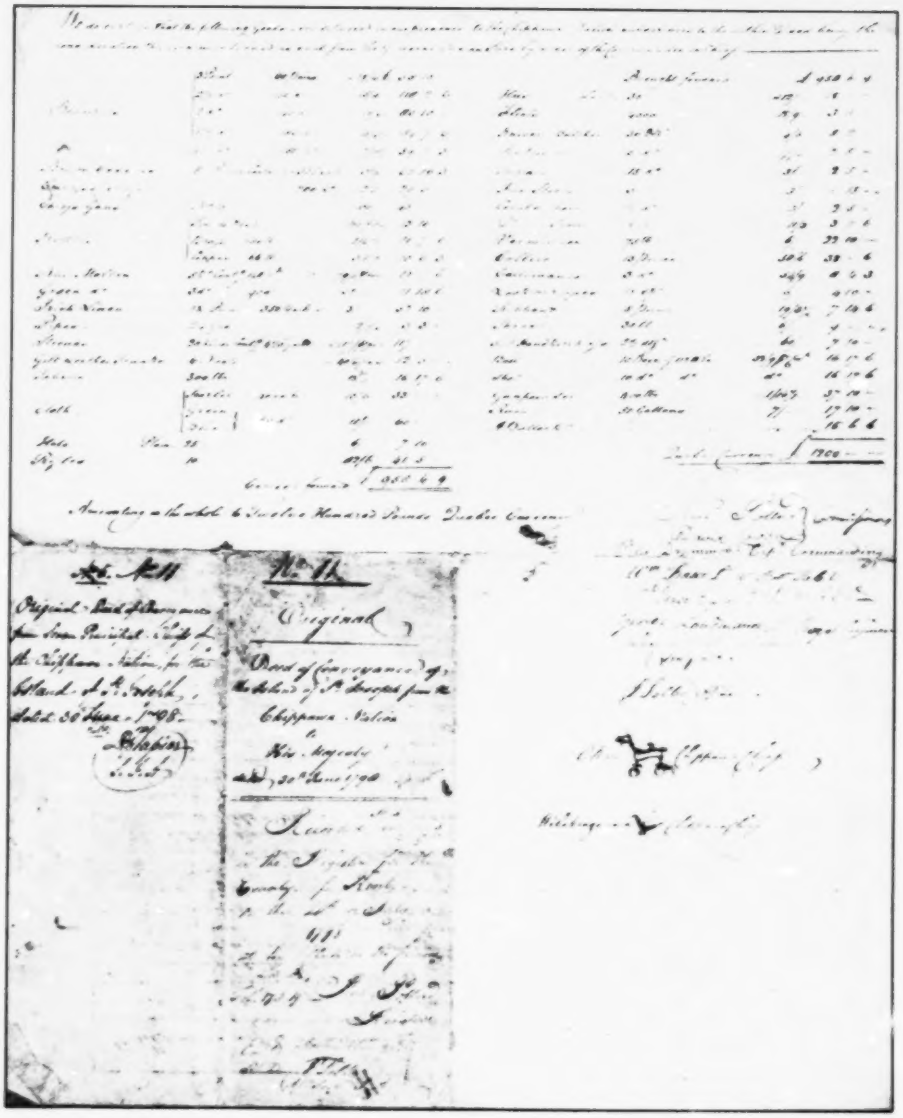
Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay
November 15, 1923
Mississauga of Rice, Mud and Scugog Lakes and Alderville

Indian Promises
Same promises as made for initial Williams Treaty, Oct. 31, 1923.

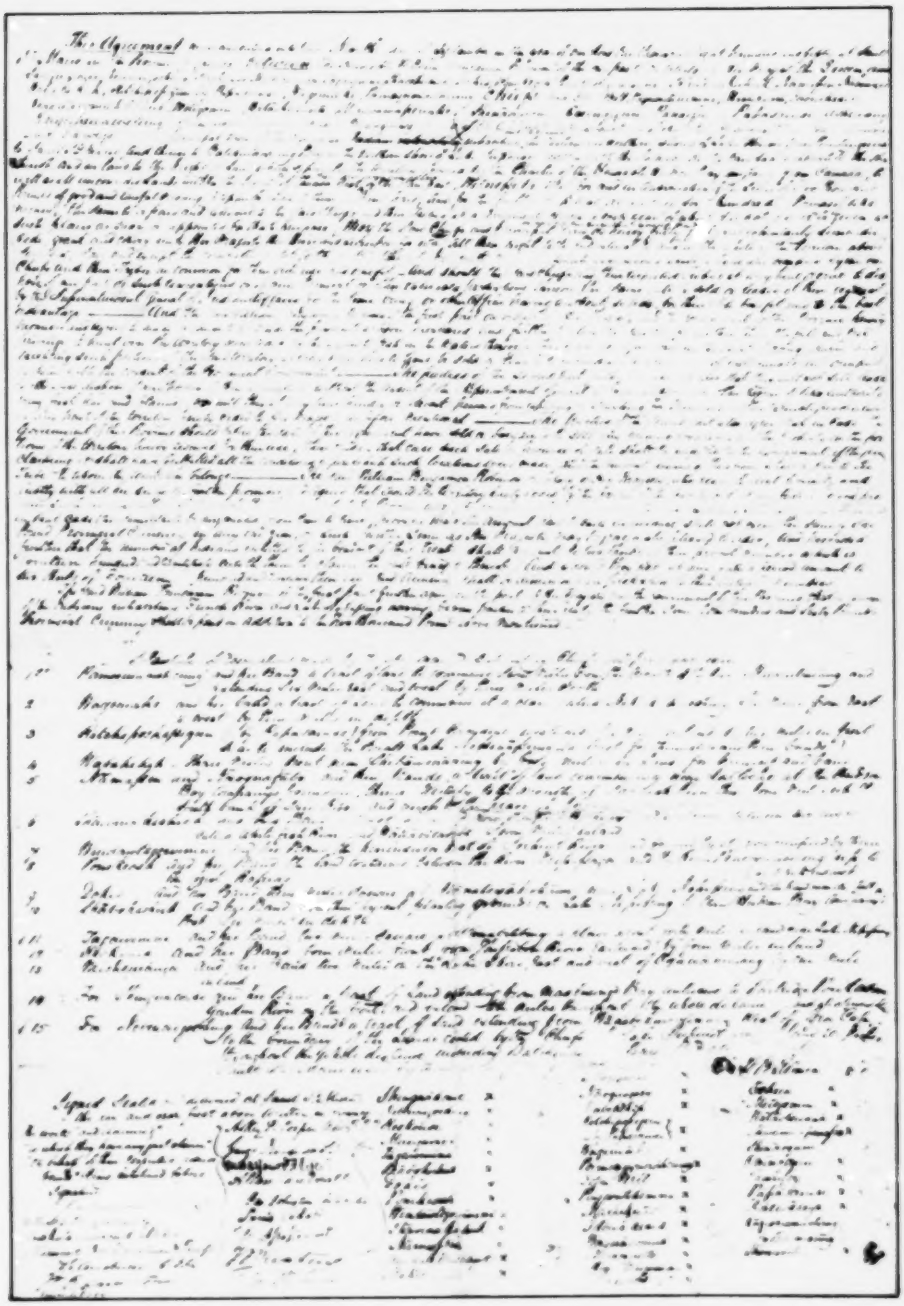
Government Obligations
Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide $25 per Indian; $233,425 to be administered by the Department of Indian Affairs.

Characteristic of early Upper Canada treaties were totems such as those inscribed by Ojibwa leaders in the signature block of Treaty No. 11. On June 30, 1798 representatives of the Crown negotiated with the Chippewa (Ojibwa) for the surrender of St. Joseph's Island. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.





Guns, blankets, tobacco and cloth; these and other goods were presented to the Chippewa in accordance with treaty stipulations. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.



Signature page of the Robinson Treaty (so named after the Crown's representative, the Honourable William Benjamin Robinson) concluded on September 9, 1850 with the Ojibwa of Lake Huron.

Robinson's signature, the signatures of other Crown officials and the 'x' marks of 37 Ojibwa chiefs and councillors present at the signing of the treaty appear on this page. As an 'x' mark was recorded beside the name of every chief and councillor, it was customary for each Ojibwa leader to touch the pen, thereby demonstrating his acceptance of the treaty. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.

Signed, sealed, and delivered at Sault Ste. Marie, the day and year first above written, in presence of—

(Signed)

ASTLEY P. COOPER,
Capt. Rifle Brig.

GEORGE IRONSIDE,
S. I. Affairs

F. W. BALFOUR,
Lieut. Rifle Brig.

ALLAN MACDONELL.

GEO. JOHNSTON,
Interpreter.

LOUIS CADOTT.

J. B. ASSIKINACK.

T. W. KEATING.

JOS. WILSON.

SHINGUACOUSE,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
NEBENAIGOCHING,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
KAKOUSE,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
MISHEQUONGA,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
TAGAWININI,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
SHABOKESHICK,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
DOKIS,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
POWAKOSH,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
WINDAWAGOWININI,	+ mark.	[L. S.]
SHAWENAKESHICK,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
NAMADIN,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
MUCKATA MISHAQUET,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
MEKIS,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
MAISQUASO,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
NAOQUAGASO,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
WABOKESICK,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
KITCHEPOSSIGUN, (by Papasainse)	his + mark.	[L. S.]
WAGEMAKE,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
PAMEQCONAIBECUNG,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
JOHN BELL,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
PAQWATCHININI,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
MASHEKYASH,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
IDOWEKEMIS,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
WAQUACOMICK,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
MISHOQUETTO,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
ASA WASWANAY,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
PAWIS,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
W. B. ROBINSON.		
OCHEEK,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
METIGOMIN,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
WATACHEWANA,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
MISHEWAPENAISE,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
SHENAOQUM,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
ONINGEGUN,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
PANAISHY,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
PAPASAINSE,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
ASHEWABEGA,	his + mark.	[L. S.]
KAGISHEWAWETUNG, (by Baboocung)	his + mark.	[L. S.]
SHAWONEBIN,	his + mark.	[L. S.]

Witness to signatures of Muckata Mishaquet, Mekis, Mishoquetto, Asa Waswanay, and Pawis—

T. G. ANDERSON, *S. I. A.*

W. B. HAMILTON,

W. SIMPSON,

ALFRED A. THOMPSON.

Facsimilie of Robinson Treaty signature page.

The James Bay Treaty

Treaty No. 9

Articles of the Treaty made and concluded [illegible] in the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec and the Territories adjacent thereto by the Commissioners [illegible] on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Indians inhabiting the territories [illegible] within the limits hereinafter named and described [illegible] the other part.

Whereas

And whereas

And whereas the Indians of the said territory have been notified and informed by Our Commissioners that it is Our desire to open for settlement, immigration and such purposes as We may see fit to [illegible] the lands in the said territory as may be required from time to time for the purposes of settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes, and that We are prepared to [illegible] with them, the said Indians, a treaty and to make them a grant for their benefit and the benefit of their children after them, and to [illegible] a reserve for each band of Indians sufficient to allot to each family of five persons or in that proportion for smaller or larger families, and that We are prepared to [illegible] for the said reserves in the manner set forth in the Regulations for Indian Reserves, a copy of which is hereto attached, and to [illegible] the said reserves from time to time as may be found necessary by reason of the increase or decrease of the population of the Indians thereof, or for the better advantage of the Indians, due regard being had to their requirements as aforesaid and to the [illegible] of the land so to be reserved, and that We are prepared to [illegible] the said Indians in the pursuit of their avocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the said tract surrendered as hereinafter mentioned, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of Our country, acting under the authority of Our Most Gracious Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes by Us or Our said Government or by any of Our subjects duly authorized therefor by Us or Our said Government, and to [illegible] the said Indians to cultivate the soil in such portions of the reserves hereinafter described as may be deemed advisable, and to [illegible] the said Indians in such other matters as may from time to time be deemed advisable for their welfare and advancement, as We hereby agree to do, and that the said Indians shall have the right to pursue their usual v

Photograph of the Chief and Councillors of the Osnaburgh Band taken in 1929 during the Treaty No. 9 payments above. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.

Detail of the medal given to Indian leaders after the signing of Treaty No. 9. Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.

Concluded on July 12, 1905 with the Cree and Ojibwa of northern Ontario, Treaty No. 9 extinguished Indian title to the unceded territory between the Albany River and the Robinson Treaties and Treaty No. 2. An adhesion to the James Bay Treaty was signed on July 5, 1929, extending the coverage of the 1905 pact (opposite). Photo courtesy Public Archives Canada.

Economic Development

Throughout the 1930s the Depression was felt by wage earners, non-Indian and Indian alike. In Ontario, wherever possible, the government provided on-reserve work opportunities for unemployed mechanics, labourers and industrial workers. Road repair, ditch digging and construction were among the work projects initiated. Northern bands of Cree whose economy was based on hunting, fishing and trapping also experienced hardship. Trappers who continued to try to meld a land-oriented lifestyle with a wage earning economy found furbearing animals to be increasingly scarce and prices for even prime pelts low. Limited resources, a poor market and the encroachment of unemployed non-Indian trappers spelled doom for Indian people. Moreover, those who relied on revenues from guiding hunting and fishing expeditions discovered that few tourists could afford such luxuries. To assist those who struggled to survive, the government issued special emergency hunting ration kits which included ammunition, twine for nets and snares, and staple food.

In the autumn of 1931 an economic experiment was launched at McIntyre Bay Reserve on the southwest shore of Lake Nipigon. Many Indian families were transferred to this location from a reserve at Sand Point, where tuberculosis was rampant and conditions unfavourable. Bands were encouraged to move from scattered settlements to areas where employment oportunities were more promising. McIntyre Reserve was comprised of 580 acres of partly forested land. The newcomers cleared 40 acres on the reserve, cultivating potatoes and other vegetables. They built 15 log houses, cutting and milling the timber in saw mills set up on their reserve. They also constructed a large dock, roads and a fish-box plant and warehouse, and several other community buildings. These Indians were skilled boatbuilders, also making snowshoes on a commercial basis. The greater part of the initial cost of the project was met by the craftsmen from their own funds.

In 1939 the Batchewana Indians, formerly located on the Garden River Reserve in the Sault Ste. Marie district, purchased land for a reserve with their own funds and subsequently became engaged in agriculture.

With the improvement of economic conditions in 1940, and as the demand for skilled labour grew, many Indians became employed in logging, lumbering, mining and munitions manufacturing. Railways hired workers for their section crews. Many Indians from Northern Ontario who traditionally relied on natural resources for their livelihood chose to abandon their former lifestyle and become industrial workers. In Southern Ontario Indian farmers secured contracts to supply vegetables to canning factories. On reserves in central Ontario timber was in greater demand. The beaver season was opened again, fur prices soared and, after a period of economic struggle, trappers enjoyed long awaited prosperity.

A fur conservation program was initiated in Ontario in 1941 and was patterned after beaver preserves already established in Quebec. Under the program, a 7 000 square mile area south of James Bay and lying between the Quebec border and the Abitibi and Moose rivers was set aside for a five-year period by the province exclusively for Indian use. The following year, a 9 000 square mile area west of James Bay on the Albany River watershed was similarly made available. Both areas were reserved specifically for the propagation of beaver. The protected furbearer was trapped alive in Algonquin Park and on the Quebec preserves, transported to designated areas and released in a suitable habitat. The areas were divided into sections, with an Indian tallyman responsible for taking an annual census of the beaver colony in each section.

The province became actively interested in these fur programs and in 1947 requested that officers appointed by the federal government assist in applying the same conservation techniques. This resulted in the development of a province-wide registered area system. In 1950 the federal government formally assumed responsibility for the administration of the system on a cost-sharing basis with the province. The end result was an increase in beaver production from some 40 000 in 1947-48 to more than 100 000 pelts several decades later.

The fur industry and registered area system provided regular employment for those who chose to participate in beaver conservation programs sponsored by federal and provincial governments. Other industries arose as natural resources were exploited for commercial use.

Under a revised agreement between federal and provincial governments (an expanded version of the 1950 pact encompassing beaver preservation as well as the management of other renewable resources), the need to stimulate economic growth in commercial fishing, wild crop harvesting, forestry, guiding and tourism was recognized. Involvement of Indian people in the management of their own natural resources, and gradual integration of them into a crystalizing Canadian society were deemed essential to economic development, particularly in Northern Ontario.

From 1949 to 1952 the Department of Lands and Forests cruised several reserves in Northern Ontario, providing management plans to be carried out under the direction of a forestry officer. As a result, most of the forested reserves in Ontario were managed on a sustained-yield basis. The majority of timber licenses held by non-Indians were nullified and Indian lumbermen were encouraged to conduct their own timber operations under the permit system. Reforestation projects were initiated on several of these reserves, with seedlings being provided by provincial nurseries. The bands involved appointed forest rangers, furnishing them with fire protection equipment. In subsequent years Indian lumbermen were given the opportunity to train as scalers, thus becoming eligible for licensing under the Department of Lands and Forests (later the Department of Forestry). Reforestation went hand in hand with periodic tree inventories, and a profile of forest resources was eventually established. This paved the way for more successful management of these resources by Indians on their reserves.

Algonkian and Iroquois Indians traditionally relied on fish as a food source, supplementing their diets of meat and wild rice and of corn with sturgeon, trout and other fish. It was not until 1945, however, that certain groups participated in commercial fishing activities. During the post-war years they were encouraged and assisted to develop commercial fishing enterprises. By the early 1950s such Indian-managed operations had begun to establish themselves as viable competitors in the Canadian fishery marketplace. To a large extent, the success of their ventures may be attributed to the close liaison and better understanding which evolved between government and Indian people after the fur program had been launched.

Algonkian bands in northern areas where commercial fishing proved feasible acquired their own band licenses. While bands such as these chose to operate fisheries within their communities, members of other bands either owned independent fisheries or worked as fishermen or plant processors for other fisheries. Band-operated fisheries were established on the Albany, Severn and Winisk rivers, as was a goldeye fishery at Sandy Lake. The overall production of fisheries owned by Indian bands for 1960 is estimated to have been 1 500 metric tons.

In 1960 the Ontario Government introduced the Wild Rice Harvesting Act, which protected Indian interests in the crop and contributed greatly to its conservation and expansion. Yield increase and the development of new rice fields have been a main concern in ensuing years. Lake of the Woods rice fields have traditionally produced the major portion of Ontario's annual crop.

Greater interest in handicraft production evolved over the years, with the majority of artisans opting to sell their crafts locally. Federal assistance was, however, made available to those who wished to broaden their market. Using techniques passed down from generation to generation, men and women who once fashioned moccasins, drums, bows and arrows for their own use now catered to the demands of art enthusiasts and tourists. Several bands realized the potential of enhancing certain areas of their reserves to attract tourists and established parks and "Indian villages" to stimulate local economy.

Traditionally inclined towards hunting and fishing, Indian people proved to be ideal guides for sportsmen seeking adventure in the fields, streams, lakes and forests of Ontario. Guide training courses were conducted to make prospective guides more aware of the changing trends in a rapidly expanding tourist industry.

In 1957 the federal government began a job placement program for Indians residents of Ontario. A placement officer was appointed in Toronto. The long-range objectives were to place qualified Indian personnel into existing jobs, to develop new opportunities in a wider range of employment, to train Indians for future employment in cooperation with the government's Education Division and to economically integrate Indians into non-Indian communities. Promising working relationships were developed with vocational, social and employment agencies, and liaison established with business and industry. In 1958 a placement officer was appointed to North Bay. In 1961 a similar position was created at London. Many individuals took advantage of counselling services to determine what jobs were available and the type of work they were most suited for. As Indian enrolment increased at schools, special services were offered to provide students with career counselling.

In 1959 the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte became the first band to be granted the right to manage the expenditure of their own reserve monies. Later the same year, this right was extended to the Moravian and Walpole Island bands. The practice of individual bands deriving revenue monies from the lease of their lands and from interest paid on capital funds originated during this period of political transition. The band council customarily drew up its annual budget in a manner similar to that of any non-Indian municipality.

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